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KĀMAKOṬṬAM NĀYANMĀRS AND ĀDI ŚAṄKARA

V.A. DEVASENAPATI

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KĀMAKOṬṬAM, NĀYANMĀRS, AND ĀDI ŚAṄKARA

BY

Dr V. A. DEVASENAPATI

Director (Retired)

Radhakrishnan Institute for

Advanced Study in Philosophy

University of Madras

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

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PREFACE TO THE PRESENT EDITION

The present publication is a revised edition of the original monograph published in the year 1975 as a special Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures, University of Madras.

It is a matter of great joy to me that the present work is being brought out during the Birth Centenary Celebrations of His Holiness The Sage of Kāñcī of the Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha.

I offer my profound thanks to Dr N. Veezhinathan, Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Madras for his invaluable help in connection with the revision, printing and publication of this work.

I express my grateful thanks to the authorities of the University of Madras for sponsoring the publication of this work under its auspices.

To Dr Jayadevan, Director, Publications Division of the University of Madras, I am greatly indebted for the keen interest he has evinced in the publication of this work.

I have great pleasure in thanking M/s. Avvai Achukkoodam for the neat execution of this work.

Madras
26—5—93

V. A. DEVASENAPATI

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The present monograph entitled *Kāmakoṭṭam, Nāyanmārs, and Ādi Śaṅkara* represents the research work carried on by me during the years 1971-72. At first I was diffident to publish this work. I, however, circulated cyclostyled copies to scholars for favour of suggestions and constructive criticisms. Dr Jean Filliozat of the French Institute of Indian Studies, Pondicherry, a great Indologist, wrote to me encouraging me to publish this work. Dr K. K. Pillay, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon), D. Litt., Director, Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras, was kind enough to suggest its publication as a special Bulletin of the Institute.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Dr K.K. Pillay for sponsoring the publication of this work as a special Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures and for his kindness in having written a Foreword to this work. To Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, Former Vice-Chancellor, Madurai University, I offer my profound respects for having acceded to my request to write an Introduction to this work. I have great pleasure in thanking Dr N. Veezhinathan, Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras, for the valuable help he gave me in gathering material for this work.

I am thankful to Dr R. Balasubramanian and to Dr T. P. Ramachandran of the Centre for Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras, for the valuable help they rendered in the preparation and printing of this work.

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I have great pleasure in thanking Messrs Avvai Achukkoodam for the neat execution of this work.

I offer this work at the Lotus-Feet of Goddess Kāmākṣī-Kāmakoṭi—the *Śakti* of the great Śāṅkarite Institution for the southern region at Kāñcī. May Goddess Kāmākṣī accept this and bless us all!

Madras
2–9–75

V. A. Devasenapati

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INTRODUCTION TO THE FIRST EDITION

By
Dr. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM
(Former Vice-Chancellor of the Madurai University)

I have been called upon to introduce the book "Kāmakoṭṭam, Nāyanmārs and Ādi Śaṅkara" — a well documented treatise by my good friend Dr V. A. Devasenapati, Professor of Philosophy in the Centre of Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras. I am a worshipper of God as the Mother - Kāmākṣī of Kāmakoṭṭam, and I have been initiated into the mysteries of the worship of Kāmākṣī, the ocean of Karuṇā, Meru Chakra and Śrī Vidyā by an old priest of Kāmākṣī Temple. It is thus always my good fortune to be commanded to do what is nearest to my heart.

This work consists of two parts. The first part deals with the greatness of Kāñcī and Kāmakoṭṭam from very early times in Tamil literature and elsewhere coming down to the end of the age of the Nāyanmārs. The city is one of the seven great holy cities of India. A *Śaṅgam* work refers to the festivals worshipped by many sects. Saint Appar refers to the boundless Ocean of learning in this city. Kāñcī is one of the ancient Universities of India equally great in the history of Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism.

The original name is Kāñcī, which in Tamil means a tree of the agricultural and urban tract, it being a well-known custom to name a city after the trees therein. In Sanskrit it means a jewel belt worn near the navel — here the navel of the earth, the city being considered to be its centre. This was pronounced with a short *a* by the Telugus as *Kañji*, and this in due course became by the

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hardening of the nasal, *Kacci*, which is the name found in Maṇimekalai and later works.

Maṇimekalai, the heroine therein, meets the Buddhist priest who is identified by some as the great Dharmapāla. Kāñcī was known to Patañjali of the *Mahābhāṣya* fame and also to ancient China.

The Centre of Kāñcī is the Temple of Kāmākṣī, called in Tamil Kāmakkoṭṭam and in Sanskrit *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha*. Koṭṭam in *Cilappatikāram* means a temple. In Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam its division is known as Koṭṭam probably because each one of them had a temple. Kāmakoṭṭam is the name of the temple of the Goddess. At Kāñcī this Kāmakoṭṭam lies between the two rivers Kampā and Vegavatī. The river Kampā now remains in the form of a tank in Ekāmres'vara temple.

The inscriptions show that originally ther were separate temples for the Goddess, and these called Kāmakoṭṭam in s'ilpa s'āstras and inscriptions grow later as separate institutions. But at Kāñcī there are no separate temples for Pārvatī or the Mother in any of the many Śiva temples, Kāmakoṭṭam of Kāmākṣī being the only such temple there. The purāṇic story of Manmatha conquering Śiva with the grace of the Mother explains this fact by stating that at the request of Manmatha the Mother withdrew her *Śakti* from every temple and at the request of Brahmā allowed the Pārvati temples to grow except at Kāñcī, the place where Manmatha became victorious.

An old verse quoted by Aḍiyārkkunallār refers to Śāttān, who guards the Kāmakkoṭṭam and with whose *ceṇṭu* the Chola Karikal Vaḷavān made the Meru whirl round. This temple of Śāttān is within the temple of Kāmākṣī. Because of the story already referred to, the *Śakti* temples elsewhere were also known as *Kāmakkoṭṭam* as proved by the inscriptions and the poems of Appar and Sambandar. Appar speaks elsewhere of the Kāmakoṭṭi as the Mother

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Goddess impressing on Lord's Śiva's body by her embrace, thus referring to the story of Kāmākṣī of Kāñcī. The lady of Kāmakoṭṭam is thus called Kāmakoṭṭi. Sambandar calls Pārvatī elsewhere as Kāmakkoḍi, which the author suggests should be Kāmakoṭi.

Kāmakkoṭṭam has been held in great reverence even by non-Hindus, as is proved by a Jain inscription of Śāttamaṅgalam that one who violates the terms of the endowment would incur the sin of destroying the Kāmakoṭṭam. There is the *Bilākāśa*, the *Śrī-Cakra*, the goddess Śyāmalā and the temple of Kaḷvar or Ādi Varāhamūrti inside the Kāmakoṭṭi temple. Kāñcīpurāṇa gives the story of Kāmākṣī performing the 32 kinds of Dharma-s or aṟam. As a result, there is the *Dharmastaṁba* in the Kāmākṣī temple. Saint Sundarar asks a rhetorical question of Śiva : "whilst the Goddess (your wife) peforms thirty-two dharmas why should you beg"? The names *Dharmiṇī* and *Dharmavardhinī* are thus explained.

Part two deals with Ādi Śaṅkara's connection with Kāñcī and Kāmakoṭṭam. The most authoritative story of Śaṅkara by Ānandagiri refers to Śaṅkara consecrating Kāmākṣī and *Śrī-Cakra* at Kāñcī, establishing the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* there and directing Sureśvara to be incharge of that and thereafter himself attaining *siddhi* there. This position is strengthened by reference to other works. Śaṅkara's *samādhis* elsewhere are proved to be memoriàls rather than *samādhis* in the real sense of the word.

Śaṅkara established the *maṭha* for the southern region (*āmnāya*) at Kāñcī. An institution for a region consists of three factors — a *śakti*, a *devatā* and *kṣetra*. And the texts that deal with these three factors are known as *maṭhāmnāya* texts. All the *Maṭhāmnaya* texts except that published by Vāni Vilās Press speak of the *Śakti* of the southern region as Goddess Kāmākṣī. The Vāṇi Vilās edition speaks of Śāradā as *Śakti*, but Śāradā is not the *Śakti* of Śiva but of Brahmā. The *Devatā* is Kaḷvar or Ādi Varāhamūrti which

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is present in the niche at the Kāmākṣī temple. Though the *kṣetra* is Rāmeśvaram, yet, since the abode of both *śakti* and *devatā* is Kāñcī and since Śaṅkara spent his last days at Kāñcī, he established the institution for the southern region there.

It is thus clear that Ādi Śaṅkara is intimately connected with Kāñcī and Kāmakoṭi. The sculptures in and around Kāñcī are replete with representations of Śaṅkara as Ekadaṇḍa Sannyāsī without regard to the deity to which the temples are dedicated. The author after an elaborate and careful analysis conclusively proves that the sannyāsin with an Ekadaṇḍa bearing the marks of the conch and the axe cannot be a Vaiṣṇavite or a Lakulīśa Śaivite, who carries only a silver staff, but can be only Ādi Śaṅkara.

The learned author of an important book - *Devī Kāmākṣī in Kāñcī* - a book exhibiting deep research which I myself praised though not agreeing with all the conclusions therein — eonclusions which Dr. Devasenapati attacks in the present work has unfortunately made a passing remark that the Kumbakonam Mutt is now (1960) laying claim to *Kāñcī-Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha*. Dr Devasenapati, quoting from the Mackenzie report, Mody records of the Madras Central Record Office, the Sarasvathi Mahal Library and the archives of the Mutt itself, High Court judgement, letters written by Śṛṅgerī Mutt, Firmans of the Nawabs and East India Company and inscriptions, conclusively proves that the position taken up once by the Śṛṅgeri Mutt that the Kumbakonam Mutt could not claim the Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha had been dismissed by the High Court, that even in the beginning of the 18th century the Mutt had been at Kañcīpuram, that on account of disturbed conditions the Mutt was transferred to Tanjore and to Kumbakonam during the period of King Pratapa Siṁha of Tanjore who was a great devotee of Śrī Candraśekharendra Sarasvatī the fourth, that even after moving to Kumbakonam the ācāryas were known as Kañcī Kāma-

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koṭi-pīṭhādhipatis, that they were having control over Kāmākṣi Temple and performing Kumbhābhiṣekam, that the authorities of the Śṛṅgeri Mutt themselves have accepted the Kāmakoṭipīṭha, that in the Manual of Pudukkoṭṭai edited by the author of the book *Devī Kāmakṣī in Kāñcī* and in his article on copper-plate grant of *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* and in the Proceeding of the Indian Historical Records Commission, he has referred to the old records referring to the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* and its ācāryas who were permitted by foreign rulers to continue their procession unmolested by others without paying tolls, etc.

The author after all these exhaustive researches concludes and I agree — "It is heartening to see that Śrī Śaṅkara has been followed by a line of Advaitic Preceptors in that great Institution. May Goddess Kāmākṣī, the *Śakti* of the *Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha*, protect us all-Her children."

It will be thus seen that the author has given us an interesting, useful, and significant book, and he deserves our congratulations.

Madras, 29—8—75 T. P. Meenakshisundaram

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PART ONE

GREATNESS OF KĀÑCĪ AND KĀMAKOṬṬAM

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I

There are seven sacred cities in India which grant salvation. They are:

अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची अवन्तिका ।
पुरी द्वारवती चैव सप्तैते मोक्षदायिकाः ॥

ayodhyā mathurā māyā kāśī kāñcī avantikā
purī dvāravatī caiva saptaite mokṣadāyikāḥ

Śrī Vedāntadeśika in his *Aḍaikkalappattu* (*The Refuge-Decad*) refers to the excellence of Kāñcī (Kaccī) as one of the seven sacred cities that grant salvation.

பத்தி முதலாமவற்றில் பதி எனக்குக் கூடாமல்
எத்திசையும் உழன்று ஓடி இளைத்து விழும் காகம் போல்
முத்தி தரும் நகர் ஏழில் முக்கியமாம் கச்சிதன்னில்
அத்திகிரி அருளாளர்க்கு அடைக்கலம் நான் புகுந்தேனே

bhattimudalāmavaṟṟil pati yenakkuk kūḍāmal
yettiśaiyuṁ uḷanru ōḍi iḷaittuviḷuṁ kākaṁ pōl
muttitaruṁ nagar ēḷil mukyamāṁ kaccitannil
attigiri aruḷāḷarku aḍaikkalam nān puhundenē

'Like a crow that flies in every direction and falls exhausted, I being unable to obtain the Lord through devotion, etc., have sought as refuge the grace of the Lord of Hastigiri of Kacci which is the most important of the seven cities that give salvation.'

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The city of Kāñcī (Kacci) has been praised in the following words in *Perumppāṇārruppaḍai* which is one among the ancient works in Tamil Sangam Literature.

மலர்தலை உலகத்துள்ளும் பலர்தொழ
விழவு மேம்பட்ட பழவிறன் மூதூர் [பாண் 410-411]

malartalai ulagattuḷḷum palar toḻa
viḻavu mēmbaṭṭa paḻvairan mūdūr

'The city of Kacci is an ancient one (*mūdūr*) in the world whose excellence is enhanced by festivals celebrated by the followers of various faiths.'

Naccinārkiniyār comments thus on the above:

பலசமயத்தாரும் தொழும்படி எடுத்த விழாக்களிலே
ஏனை நகர்களின் மேலானவெற்றியினை உடைய பழைய ஊர்

palaśamayattārum̀ toḻum̀baḍi eḍutta viḻākkaḷile
ēnai naharhaḷin mēlāna verriyinai uḍaiya paḻaiya ūr

'Kacci is an ancient city pre-eminet because festivals of various faiths are celebrated there.'

Appar refers to Kāñcī as a place of boundless learning in his *Tēvāram* relating to *Tirukkacci-Tirumērrali.*

செல்வியைப் பாகங் கொண்டார் சேந்தனை மகனாக் கொண்டார்
மல்லிகைக் கண்ணியோடு மாமலர்க் கொன்றை சூடிக்
கல்வியைக் கரையிலாத காஞ்சிமாநகர் தன்னுள்ளால்
எல்லியை விளங்க நின்றார் இலங்குமேற்றளியனாரே [4-43-8]

śelviyai bhāgam̀ koṇḍār ṣēndanaimahanākkoṇḍār
mallihaikaṇṇīyōḍu māmalarkonraicūḍi
KALVIYAIKKARAIYILADA kāñcimānagar tannuḷḷāl
yelliyai vilaṅganinrār ilaṇgu mērraḻaiyināre

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'He has His beloved (*Pārvatī*) sharing half His body; He has Śendan (Subrahmaṇya) as His son; the fair-eyed Gaṅgā adorns His head, and *konrai* flowers light up His face. He shines in *Tirumēṟṟaḷi* in Kāñcī noted for the boundless learning of its scholars in contrast to the surrounding ignorance.

In a reference to Aravaṇa Aḍigal in the *Maṇimekhalai*, the expression *Kaccimānagar* is used:

தவநெறி அறவணன் சாற்றக் கேட்டனன்
ஆங்கவன்றானும் நின்னறத்திற்கேதுப்
பூங்கொடி கச்சி மாநகர் ஆதலின்
மற்றம் மாநகர் மாதவன் பெயர் நாள்
பொற்றொடி தாயரும் அப்பதிப் படர்ந்தனர்.

[மணிமேகலை, கச்சிமாநகர் புக்க காதை, வரிகள் 150-154]

tavaneṟi aṟavaṇan śāṟṟakkeṭṭanan
āṅgavanṟānuṁ ninnaṟattiṟkētup
pūṅgoḍi kaccimānagar ātalin
maṟṟam mānagar mādhavan peyar nāḷ
poṟṟoḍitāyaruṁ appadippaḍarndanar

'Kañcī is the appropriate place for your ascetic practice; and, for your sake your mother and Sudhamathi accompanied Aravaṇan to that place.'

Kacci is referred to as Kāñcī in both Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*[1] and Harṣa's *Naiṣadha*.[2]

The meaning of the word Kāñcī in Sanskrit is *Oḍḍiyāṇam* (a belt worn as an ornament around the waist by

1. The *Mahābhāṣya*, IV, ii, 140.
2. The *Naiṣadha-kāvya*, 12, 33.

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women). This ornament is worn only around the navel. Kāñcī is so-called because it is the navel position of the earth. *Kāñcīmāhātmya* and *Kāmākṣī-vilāsa* speak of Kāñcī as the navel of the world.

(*a*) तपस्स्थानं बिलं सूक्ष्मं परमं व्योम तत्स्मृतम् ।
[काञ्चीमाहात्म्यम् ३१-७०]

(*b*) आधिभौतिकमहोघ्नं नाभिस्थानं भुवः परम् ।
[कामाक्षीविलासम् ११-६]

(*c*) जगद्कामकलाकार नाभिस्स्थानं भुवः परम् ।
[कामाक्षीविलासम् १३-७३]

(*i*) *tapassthānam bilam sūkṣmaṁ paramaṁ vyoma tatsmṛtam*
(*Kāñcīmāhātmyam* 31-70)

(*ii*) *ādhibhautikamaṁhoghnaṁ nābhissthānaṁ bhuvaḥ param*
(*Kāmākṣīvilāsam* 11, 6)

(*iii*) *jagadkāmakalākāraṁ nābhisthānam bhuvaḥ param*
(*ibid.*, 13-73)

Śivajñāna Munivar in his *Kañcīpurāṇa* refers to Kāñcī as the navel-region of the Goddess Earth who wears the sea as Her garment and who shines as the Supreme *ākāśa*.

அணையால் பரப்பு நுண் பிலமாகி அருட்பர வெளியாய்த்திகழும்
அணைகடல் உடுக்கை நிலமகட்குந்தி ஸ்தானமாம்
வீராட்டஹாசப் படலம்-31.

aṇaiyāl parappu nun bilamāhi aruṭparaveḷiyāytihaḷum
aṇaikaḍal uḍukkai nilamahaṭkundi sthānamām
Vīrāṭṭahāśappaṭalam, 3.1

Kāñcī whose renown is celebrated thus consists of *Kāmakoṭṭam*, *Rudra-Koṭṭam*, *Puṇya-Koṭṭam* and *Kumara-koṭṭam* which are sacred severally for Parāśakti, Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Kumāra. *Kumara-koṭṭam* and *Kāḷikoṭṭam* are comprised in *Kāmakoṭṭam*.

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II

Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam (Tuṇḍīra-maṇḍalam) has as its boundaries *Svāmipuṣkariṇī* in Tirupati in the north, the *sea* in the east, *Tenpeṇṇai* known as *Dākṣiṇapinākinī* in the south, and *Kallāṛu* in the West. Of these, *Svāmipuṣkariṇī* is to the north-east of Lord Veṅkaṭeśvara's temple at Tirupati. It is said that Lord Veṅkaṣeśvara invoked the river Virajā and named it as *Svāmipuṣkariṇī*. This is the northern boundary.

When Brahmā started performing a sacrifice at Kāñcī, without Sarasvatī, she flowed fast in the form of a river to destroy the sacrifice. Hence this river is known as *Vegavatī*. Mahāviṣṇu saved the sacrifice. Sarasvatī flowed eastwards and merged in the sea. This sea marks the eastern boundary.

When the sage Bhṛgu once lifted the bow of Śiva, known as *Pināka*, it assumed the form of a river. It is this which is known as river *Pinākinī*. *Pinākinī* takes two courses as *Uttarapinākinī (vaḍapeṇṇaiyāṛu)* and *Dakṣiṇapinākinī (tenpeṇṇaiyāṛu)*. These are in the Nellore and the South Ārcot districts respectively. The *Dakṣiṇapinākinī* is the southern boundary.

When Lakṣmaṇa was struck down by the weapon of *Śakti* in the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, Hanūmān, on the suggestion of Jāmbavān brought medicinal herbs from *Oṣadhiparvatā* and those herbs were washed in *Kallāru*. *Kallāru* marks the western boundary.

Once upon a time Devī went to Kāñcī and was performing penance to obtain Śiva. Śiva ordered Gaṅgā to

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take the form of a river to test her devotion, whereupon Gaṅgā started flowing in the form of a river. There was shivering in the body of Devī when she beheld the river in flood. This river came to be known as *Kaṁpā* because it caused trembling *(kampāna)* in the body of Devī.

Through Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam bounded on four sides in the above manner flow the rivers *Kaṁpā* and *Vegavatī*.

At the time of Mūkakavi, *Kaṁpā* was flowing in the form of a river; and, it is clear from his verses in the *Āryā-śataka*:

कम्पातीरचराणां करुणाकोरकितदृष्टिपातानाम् ।
केलीवनं मनो मे केषाञ्चिद्भवतु चिद्विलासानाम् ॥ [१२]

पुण्या कापि पुरंध्री पुङ्खितकन्दर्पसंपदा वपुषा ।
पुलिनचरी कम्पायाः पुरमथनं पुलकनिचुलितं कुरुते ॥ [२२]

kampātīracarāṇām karuṇākorakitadṛṣṭipātānām
kelīvanaṁ mano me keṣāmcidbhavatu cidvilāsānām [12]

puṇyā kāpi purandhrī puṅkhitakandarpasaṁpadā vapuṣā
pulinacārī kaṁpāyāḥ puramathanam pulakaniculitam kurute [22]

Herein he refers to *Kaṁpā* as a river. *Kaṁpā* is now in the form of a small tank on the southern side of the (first) outer prakāram of the Ekāmreśvara temple. The river *Vēgavatī* is to the south of Kāñcī. *Kāmakoṣṭha* is situated in between these two rivers. And Goddess Kāmākṣī presides over the *Kāmakoṣṭha*.

III

The temple of Kāmākṣī is the centre of importance in Kāñcī. There are many temples in this sacred city dedi-

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cated to Viṣṇu and Śiva. It is the custom in Kāñcī for the *utsavar* of any temple therein to be taken in procession at the time of *Brahmotsava* through the four main streets around the temple of Kāmākṣī.

All the temples whether Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite have their main gopurams or entrances facing *Kāmakoṣṭha.* There is yet another feature about Kāñcī. Whereas outside Kāñcī there is a separate *sanctum* for Devī in every Śaivite temple in Tamil Nadu, there is no such *sanctum* for the Devī in the Śiva temples within the limits of the city of Kāñcī.

It is because of this: Manmatha who was made formless by Lord Śiva performed penance, in order to recover form, at Kāñcī invoking Goddess Kāmākṣī. Pleased with his penance, Kāmākṣī gave him a new form by her gracious look.

हरनेत्राग्निसन्दग्धकामसञ्जीवनौषधिः ॥

[श्रीललितासहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् – ३४]

haranetrāgniṣandagdhakāmasañjīvanauṣadhiḥ

[*Śrī Lalitāsahaśranāmastotram*, 34]

He then prayed that he should be empowered to conquer Śiva. Granting his prayer, Kāmākṣī withdrew her *sānnidhya* unto Herself from all the Śiva temples including Kailāsa and concentrated all of it in the space of a small cave (*bilākāśa)* in the *Kāmakoṣṭha.* Finding his temples bereft of Her presence, Śiva felt the pangs of separation. It appeared as if that was the moment of Manmatha's triumph over Śiva. Sometime hence Brahmā went to Kailāsa to offer worship to Śiva. After worshipping Him, he went to pay his obeis-

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ance to Devī. Devī was not to be found there. He then went to all the Śiva temples; he could not find her in any of them. He then realised that all this was due to the will of Kāmākṣī; and then he performed penance in the *Kāmakoṣṭha* at Kāñcī praying to Her that Her *sānnidhya* should be manifested in all the temples as before. Kāmākṣī appeared before him and in response to his prayer agreed to restore Her *sānnidhyā* in all the Śiva temples except those in Kāñcī and further said that there is no need for a separate *sanctum* for Her in any of the Śiva temples at Kāñcī which is the *Śivajitkṣetra*. Thereafter, Kāmākṣī restored her *sānnidhya* in all those temples except Kāñcī. Since Her *sānnidhya* was released from *Kāmakoṣṭha* at Kāñcī, the *sanctum* of the Goddess in all the Śiva temples in Tamil Nadu are referred to as *Kāmakoṣṭha*.

पुरा पञ्चशरोऽनङ्गः प्रत्यक्षाङ्गाभिलाषया ॥

कामकोष्ठं समासाद्य कामाक्षीं संप्रपूज्य च ।
हृदी ध्यात्वा तु तां कामस्तपस्तेपेऽतिदुष्करम् ॥

ततस्तत्कामदेवस्य तपसा तुष्टमानसा ।
कदाचित् तत्र कामाक्षी महात्रिपुरसुन्दरी ॥

प्रसन्नाथ महाशक्तिः स्वकटाक्षनिरीक्षणात् ।
ददौ कामाय दिव्याङ्गं नृणामानन्ददायकम् ॥

* * *

तदा सर्वेषु शैवेषु केलासाद्यालयेषु च ।
यत्र यत्र स्थितास्सर्वा गौरीः स्वांशतया स्थिताः ॥
समाकृष्यैक्यतो देवी तूष्णीमासीच्छुभानना ॥

* * *

कदाचिदथ लोकेशः कैलासाद्यालयेषु च ।
सेवार्थं परमेशस्य समागत्यालयं तदा ॥
देवीहीनालयं दृष्ट्वा शिवस्थानेषु सर्वशः ।
किमर्थमम्बिका नास्ति सर्वशैवालयेषु च ॥

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इति चिन्त्य ततो ब्रह्मा कामाक्ष्याश्चित्रमित्यपि ।
विज्ञाय ज्ञानदृष्ट्या तु कामकोष्ठमहीतले ॥
कामाक्ष्यास्सन्निधिं प्राप्य ध्यात्वाराध्य महेश्वरीम् ।
सर्वालयेषु शैवेषु सर्वलोकस्थितेषु च ॥
यथा शम्भुस्तथा गौरी सदा सान्निध्यकांक्षया ।
हृदि ध्यात्वा तु कामाक्षीं द्वादशाब्दं तपोऽकरोत् ॥
ततः प्रसन्ना सा देवी कामाक्षी भक्तिकामदा ।
तत्र ब्रह्माणमालोक्य वचनं चेदमब्रवीत् ॥

* * *

शिवजित्क्षेत्रमित्युक्तमिद क्षेत्रं विना भुवि ।
सर्वालयेषु शैवेषु सन्निधत्तां सदाम्बिका ॥

[कामाक्षीविलासम्—१४, ९-१२; ३१, ३२; ६८-७३, ७५.]

purā pañcaśaro'naṅgaḥ pratyakṣāṅgābhilāṣayā ॥
kāmakoṣṭhaṁ samāsādya kāmākṣīṁ saṁprapūjya ca |
hṛdi dhyātvā tu tāṁ kāmaḥ tapastepe atiduṣkaram ॥
tatastatkāmadevasya tapasā tuṣṭamānasā |
kadācit tatra kāmākṣī mahātripurasundarī ॥
prasannā atha mahāśaktiḥ svakaṭākṣanirīkṣaṇāt |
dadau kāmāya divyāṅgaṁ nṛṇāmānandadāyakam ॥

* * *

tadā sarveṣu śaiveṣu kailāsādyālayeṣu ca |
yatra yatra sthitāḥ sarvāḥ gaurīḥ svāṁśatayā sthitāḥ ॥
samākṛṣya aikyato devī tūṣṇīmāsīcchubhānanā ॥

* * *

kadācit atha lokeśaḥ kailāsādyālayeṣu ca |
sevārthaṁ parameśasya samāgatya ālayaṁ tadā ॥
devīhīnālayaṁ dṛṣṭvā śivasthāneṣu sarvaśaḥ |
kimarthaṁ aṁbikā nāsti sarvaśaivālayeṣu ca ॥
iti cintya tato brahmā kāmākṣyāḥ citramityapi |
vijñāya jñānadṛṣṭyā tu kāmakoṣṭhamahītale ॥
kāmākṣyāḥ sannidhiṁ prāpya dhyātvā ārādhya maheśvarīm |
sarvālayeṣu śaiveṣu sarvalokasthiteṣu ca ॥

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yathā śaṁbhuḥ tathā gaurī sadā sānnidhyakāṁkṣayā |
hṛdi dhyātvā kāmākṣīm dvādaśābdaṁ tapo'karot ||
tataḥ prasannā sā devī kāmākṣī bhaktikāmadā |
tatra brahmāṇamālokya vacanaṁ cedam abravīt ||

* * *

śivajitkṣetram ityuktaṁ idaṁ kṣetraṁ vinā bhuvi |
sarvālayeṣu śaiveṣu sannidhattāṁ sadāṁbikā ||

[*Kāmākṣī-vilāsam — XIV*, 9-12; 31, 32; 68-73, 75]

IV

KĀMAKOṢṬHA IN ANCIENT TAMIL LITERATURE

Kāmakoṣṭham is referred to as *Kāmakoṭṭam* in ancient Tamil Literature. To begin with, Aḍiyārkku-Nallār in his commentary on the *Śilappadikāram* (5, 95-98) quotes an ancient Tamil verse which refers to the exploits of the very ancient ruler Karikālan who made a triumphant tour of the north upto Himālayas and planted his flag of victory on the Mount Meru. That verse is as follows:

கச்சி வளைக்கைச்சி காமக்கோட்டங் காவல்
மெச்சி யினிதிருக்கு மெய்ச்சாத்தன் — கைச்செண்டு
கம்பக் களிற்றுக் கரிகாற் பெருவளத்தான்
செம்பொற் கிரிதிரித்த செண்டு

"*kacchivaḷaikkaicchi kāmakkōṭṭaṁ kāval*
mecciyinitirukku meycchāttan kaicchenḍu
kambak kaḷiṟṟuk karikāṟperuvaḷattān
chempoṟgiri tiritta chenḍu"

The *Chenḍu*—the club with which Karikāṟperuvaḷattān split the golden mountain is the club of Śāstā who keeps vigil in *Kāmakoṣṭham* of Kāmākṣī referred to as having bangles round Her hands.

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This verse brings out the fact that *Kāmakoṣṭham* of Kāmākṣī was famous even at the time of Karikāla Coḷan — that is before the time of Tirunāvukkarasar, Śaṁbandar and Sundarar.

The meaning of the expression *vaḷaikkaicchi* which refers to Kāmākṣī is borne out by the account given in the *Kāñcīmāhātmyam* and the *Mūkapañcaśatī*. According to both these works, the impress of the bangles of Goddess Kāmākṣī is seen in the body of Lord Śiva.

स्तनाभ्यामपि बाहुभ्यां संपीड्य वलयैरपि ।
आलिलिङ्ग दृढं लिङ्गं एकचूताह्वयं शिवम् ॥
तदेकाम्रेशलिङ्गं वै तस्या आलिङ्गनोत्सुकम् ।
स्तनकङ्कणमुद्राभ्यां मुद्रितं भूतये भुवः ॥

[काञ्चीमाहात्म्यम् — ४५]

stanābhyāmapi bāhubhyāṁ saṁpīḍya valayairapi
ālilinga dṛḍhaṁ liṅgaṁ ekacūtāhvayaṁ śivam
tadekāmreśaliṅgaṁ vai tasyā āliṅganotsukam
stanakaṅkaṇamudrābhyāṁ mudritam bhūtaye bhuvaḥ

[*Kāñcīmāhātmyam*, 45.]

अङ्कितशङ्करदेहां अङ्कुरितोरोजकङ्कणाश्लेषैः ।
अधिकाञ्चि नित्यतरुणीं अद्राक्षं काञ्चीदद्भुतां बालाम् ॥

[आर्याशतकम् — १५]

aṅkitaśaṅkaradehāṁ aṅkuritorojakaṅkāśleṣaiḥ
adhikāñci nityataruṇīṁ adrākṣaṁ kāñcīdadbhutāṁ bālām

[*Āryāśatakam* 15.]

Tirunāvukkarasar, who flourished in the 7th century A.D., in his *Tiruttāṇḍagam* of Tiruvaḍigai Vīraṭṭāṇam

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(near Panruṭi) uses the word *Kāmakkōṭṭi* in the following verse :

கொழும்பவளச் செங்கனிவாய்க் காமக் கோட்டி
கொங்கையிணை யமர்பொருது கோலங் கொண்ட
தழும்புளவே வரை மார்பில்.....

[6-ம் திருமுறை, திருவதிகை வீரட்டாணம்,
அடையாளத் திருத்தாண்டகம், 10]

"koḻumpavaḷacchenganivāykkāmakōṭṭi
koṅgaiyiṇai yamarporudu kōlaṅkoṇḍa
taḻumbuḷavē varai mārbil".....

This means: 'there is on Lord Śiva's body the impress of the embrace of *Kāmakkōṭṭi* whose lips are red like coral.'

Sambandar, who also flourished in the 7th century A.D., in his Tevāram on Tiruirumpūḷai (Ālaṅguḍi) uses the word *Kāmakkōṭi*. The *Tevāram* is as follows:

நச்சித்தொழுவீர்கள் நமக் கிதுசொல்வீர்
கச்சிப்பொலி காமக் கொடியுடன்கூடி
இச்சித்திரும்பூளையிடங் கொண்ட வீசன்
உச்சித்தலையில் பலி கொண்டுழலூணே

[2-ம் திருமுறை, திருவிரும்பூளை, 4]

nacchittoḻuvīrgaḷ namakkidu śolvīr
kacchippoli kāmakkoṭiyuḍan kūḍi
icchittirumbūlaiyidam koṇḍa vīśan
ucchittalaiyil balikoṇḍuḻalūṇe

Here *kōṭi* appears as *koṭi*. In ancient times, the same symbol was used for the long and short forms of *O*. This is clearly noticed in old stone inscriptions. It was only after the starting of the printing presses that different

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symbols were used to indicate the long and short forms of *O*.[1]

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1. It is said that the Devī in Kāñcī is called by Sambandar as காமகோடி (*Kāmakoḍi*). But this is not correct. In Sanskrit there are two different letters *ṭa* and *ḍa*. In Tamil, however, there is only one letter *ṭa* which is pronounced as *ḍa* also as in the case of *koḍi*. But the word காமகோடி in Sambandar's Tevaram cannot be pronounced as *koḍi* and should be pronounced as *kōṭi* for the following reasons:

   In the *Kāmākṣī-vilāsa* we find the words *Kāmakōṭi* and *Kāmakoṣṭam* used interchangeably in the verses —

   (*i*) *kāmakoṭi smṛtaḥ so'yam*

   (*ii*) *tasmāt avaśyaṁ kartavyam kāmakoṣṭasya darśanam*

   The copper-plate grant of Vijayagaṇḍagopāla refers to the goddess as *Kāñcī-Kāmakoṭi*. Mūka-kavi in his *Mūkapañcaśati* refers to the goddess as *Kāmakoṭi*:

   (*i*) *kāmaparipanthi kāminī*
   kameśvarī kāmapīṭha madhyagate
   kāmadughā bhava kamale
   kāmakale kāmakoṭi kāmākṣī

   (*ii*) *samaravijayakoṭi sādhakānandadhātī*
   mṛduguṇaparipeṭi mukhyakādaṁb avāṭi
   muninutaparipāṭi mohitājāṇḍakoṭi
   paramaśivavadhūti pātu māṁ kāmakoṭi

   Tirunāvukkaraśar in his *Tiruttāṇḍagam* of *Tiruvadigai Vīraṭṭāṇam* and Sundaramūrti Nāyanār in his *Onakāntanrali Tevaram* in Kāñcī referred to above use the words *Kāmakoṭṭi* and *Kāmakoṭṭam* respectively. The second letter *ṭ* in *koṭṭi* and in *koṭṭam* followed by the letter *ṭ* cannot be pronounced as *ḍ*. Nor are the words pronounced as *koḍḍi*. Instead they are pronounced as *koṭṭi* and *koṭṭam*. In the same manner the word காமகோடி in Sambandar's Tevāram must be pronounced as *kāmakoṭi* and not as *Kāmakoḍi*.

   It should be noted further that the letter *o* in *Kāmakoṭṭi* or *kāmakoṭṭam* is the long from of *o* although only the symbol for short form of *o* (ஒ) was used in Tevāram and stone inscriptions. Spoken Tamil has both short and long forms of *e* (எ). But written Tamil did not have the long

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Sundaramūrti svāmi in his Tevāram on *Oṇakāntanṟali* in Kāñcī uses the expression *Kāmakkōṭṭam.* The *Tevāram* is as follows:

கச்சி மூதூர்க் காமக்கோட்டம் உண்டாக
நீர்போய், ஊரிடும் பிச்சைகொள்வதென்னே
ஓணகாந்தன்றளியுளீரே

(7-ம் திருமுறை, ஓணகாந்தன்றளி, 6)

kacchimūdūrk kāmakōṭṭam uṇḍāha
nīr pōy, ūriḍum piechaikoḷvadenne
oṇakāntanṟaliyuḷīrē

(*7th Tirumurai, Onakāntanṟali*, 6)

This passage, according to Aruṇaivaḍivel Mudaliar,[2] means: 'when there exists (*uṇḍāha*) Tirukkāmakōṭṭam

form and only the short form served the purpose of both the short and long forms. Consequently the symbol for *e* when used before a consonant was a hook with a tiny circle at the bottom (ெ). Constanzo Giuseppe Beschi in the first part of the 18th Century introduced the symbol for the long form *e* (ே). And the symbol for long *e* when used before a consonant was a hook with tiny circles one at the bottom and another at the top. (ே).

In the same way written Tamil did have onlythe short form of *o* (ொ) And Beschi introduced the symbol for long form of *O* (ோ). And the symbol for short form of *o* when used before a consonant, say, *ka* followed by the sign ா is கொ and the symbol for long form of *O* is கோ.

[See the article: தமிழ் எழுத்துகள் — அன்று முதல் இன்று வரை By சா. கணேசன் (கையேடு கலைக் காட்சி குழு, இரண்டாவது உலகத்தமிழ் கருத்தரங்கு மகாநாடு, சென்னை, 1968]

Thus till 18th century both the short and long forms of *O* were written with the symbol for short form only although the words were pronounced with short *O* or long *O* as the case might have been. From this it follows that the words காமகோட்டி, காமகோட்டம் and காமகோடி should have to be written as காமகொட்டி, காமகொட்டம், காமகொடி in works before 18th century

2. *Tevāram* of Sundaramurti, Dharmapuram Edition, 1964, p. 50.

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in ancient Kāñcī, why should you go about begging for alms from the public'.

The term *uṇḍāha* cannot be taken, as some say, in the sense that it has come into existence only at the time of Sundarar; if that were the case, Tirunāvukkaras'ar who flourished much earlier than Sundarar could not have used the term *Kāmakkoṭṭam* at all.

Śekkiḷār in his account of *Tirukkuṟipputtoṇḍanāyanār* in the *Periyapurāṇam* hails the greatness of *Kāmakoṭṭam* in the following verse:

புண்ணியத்திரு காமக் கோட்டத்துப்
பொலிய முப்பதோடிரண்டறம் புரக்கும். [71]

puṇṇiyattirukkāmakoṭṭattuppolia
muppadoḍiraṇḍaram purakkum

This refers to Goddess Kāmakṣī presiding over the Kāmakōṭṭam fostering the thirty two virtues.

The reference to *Śāstā* as the guardian deity of the *Kāmakoṭṭa* by Aḍiyārkkunallār in his commentary on the *Śilappadikāram* confirms the fact that the present Kāmākṣī temple in Kāñcī is the same as the *Kamakōṭṭa* of Karikāla of ancient times. Even to this day the shrine of *Śāstā* is situated in the first *prākāra* of the temple.[3] Śekkilar's

3. The worship of Śāstā or Śāttān, or Āryan or Aiyanār is prevalent in South India. In fact many of the villages as Śāttanūr, Śāttamangalam, Śāttappāḍi, Villupuram-Sāttanūr and the like are named after Śasta or Śāttān. These villages have, besides temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu, temples dedicated to Śāstā. In Villupuramśāttanūr, there are temples and pūjāsthalas dedicated to Śāstā in eight directions. In Tirunelveli district, the worship of Śāstā is known as Śāstā-prīti and it is performed with Vedic mantras. The place Āryankāvu wherein Śastā or Āryan is worshipped predominantly is named after Śāstā or Āryān. Śri Śaṅkara in his *Śivapādādikeśāntastotra* offers salutations to Śāstā. It

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Periapurāṇam also corroborates the identity of the Kāmākṣī temple with *Kāmakōṭṭam* by recording the fact that one who enters *Kāmakōṭṭa* fails to locate the four quarters correctly – a unique and special phenomena of the Kāmākṣī temple.

அந்தமின்றி நல்லறம் புரிந்தளிக்கும்
அம்மை தன் திருக்காமக் கோட்டத்தில்
வந்து சந்திரசூரியர் மீதுவழிக்
கொளாதன் மருங்கு போதலினால்.

சந்தமா திரமயங்கி யெம்மருங்கும்
சாயை மாறிய தன்றிசை மயக்கம்
இந்த மாநிலத் தவரெலாம் காண
என்றும் உள்ள தொன்றின்றும் அங்குளதால்-74

andaminri nallaram purindaḷikkum
ammaitan tirukkāmakōṭṭattil
vandu candira sūriyar mīdu vaḷik
koḷādan maruṅgu pōdalināl
canda mādira mayaṅki emmaruṅgum
cāyai māriyadanriśai mayakkam
inda mānilattavarelām kāṇa
enrum uḷḷadonrinrum aṅguḷadāl"-(74)

From what has been so far it would have become clear that *Kāmakkoṭṭa*—the abode of *Kāmākṣī* has been very popular even at the time of the ancient king Karikāla Colan. The reverence with which all the three Nāyanmars refer to the *Kāmakkoṭṭam* reveals the importance of the *Kamakkoṭṭam* in the religious life of the people.

V

STONE INSCRIPTIONS

That the seat of Goddess in the Śiva temples outside the limits of Kāñcī is referred to as Kāmakoṣtha can be

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follows from the above that the idol of Śāstā in the temple of Kāmākṣi is that of a god well known in the Hindu pantheon and worshipped by the Hindus.

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seen from the various inscriptions found in Śiva temples in South India. The book entitled *South Indian Temple Inscriptions* published by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras contains several such inscriptions which are as follows:

1. சிதம்பரம்: கொவிலுக்கும் திருக்காமக் கொட்டமு (ை*)டய பெரியனாச்சியாருக்கும் சாத்தி யருள.[1]

Chidambaram. kovilukkum tirukkāmakoṭṭamuḍ(ai)aya periya nācciyārukkum śāttiyaruḷa

2. அவினாசி: கொவிலில் திருக்காமக் கொட்டத்துனாச்சியார் பெருங் கருணை.[2]

Avināśi: koilil tirukkāmakoṭṭattu nācciyār peruṅkaruṇai

3. விஜயமங்கலம்: திருனாகிசுவர முடையார் திருக்காமக் கொட்டத் தாளு [ை*] ட [ய*] னாச்சியார்க்கு அமுதுபடி.[3]

Vijayamaṅgalam: tirunāgīśuvaramuḍaiyār tirukkāmakoṭṭattāḷuḍ (ai) (ya) nācciyārkku amudupaḍi

4. திருவொத்தியூர்: திருவொத்தியூருடைய னாயனார் கொயிர்த் திருக்காமக் கொட்டமுடைய னாச்சியார்க்கு வெண்டும் நிமந்தங்களுக்கு.[4]

Tiruvottiyūr: tiruvottiyūruḍaiya nāyanār koyirtirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiya nācciyārukku veṇḍum nimandaṅgaḷukku.

5. திருப்பாலைவனம்: திருப்பாலவனமுடைய நாயனார் திருக்காமக் கொட்டம் இயாதிலும் பாபாதி நாச்சியார்க்கு.[5]

Tiruppālaivanam: tiruppālavanamuḍaiya nāyanār tirukkāmakoṭṭam iyādiluṁ pāpādi nācciyārkku

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1. *South Indian Temple Inscriptions* (Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras) Part I, No. 14, p. 22.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 197, p. 190.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 267, p. 248.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 530. p. 517.
5. *Ibid.*, No. 539, p. 528.

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6. திருக்காடடுப்பள்ளி: திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய நாச்சியார் அழகமர் மங்கையார்க்கு.[1]

திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய பெரிய நாச்சியார் அழகமர் மங்கையாருக்குக் கற்றளி.[2]

Tirukkāṭṭuppalli: *tirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiya nācciyār aḷagamar mangaiyārkku.*

tirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiya periyanācciyār aḷagamar mangaiyārukkuk karraḷi

7. வல்லம்: இக்கொயில் சி(வ) காமகொட்டமுடைய னாச்சியார்க்கும் வெண்டும் நிமத்தத்துக்கு.[3]

Vallam: *ikkoil śi(va) kāmakoṭṭamuḍaiya nācciyārkkum veṇḍum nimittattukku.*

8. திருப்பழனம்: இக்கொயிலில் பூஜை நிலைகளும் திருக்காமக் கொட்டமுடைய நாச்சியார் கொயில் பட்டா சாரிய நிலையும்.[4]

நான் எழுந்தருளிவித்த திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடையார் திருப்பழனத்துடையாற்கு.[5]

இன்னாயநார் திருக்காம கொட்டமுடைய பெரிய நாச்சியார்.[6]

Tiruppaḷanam: *ikkoilil pūjainilaihaḷum tirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiya nācciyārkoil bhaṭṭācāriya nilaiyum*

nān eḷundaruḷivitta tirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiyār tiruppaḷanattuḍaiyārkku

innāyanār tirukkāmakoṭṭamuḍaiya periya nācchiyār.

9. கோவிலடி: இக்கொயிலில் நான் எழுந்தருளிவித்த திருக்காமக் கொட்டமுடைய அகில நாயகியாற்கு பூஜைக்கும்.[7]

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1. *Ibid.*, Part II, No. 597, p. 586.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 598, p. 586.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 635, p. 613.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 1042, p. 975.
5. *Ibid.*, No. 1048, p. 980.
6. *Ibid.*, No. 1049, p. 981.
7. *Ibid.*, Pt. III, Sect. I, No. 1175, p. 1152.

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Kovilaḍi: *ikkoilil nān eḷundaruḷivitta tirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiya akhilanāyakiyārkku pūjaikkum*

10. ஹஸ்திகிரி: ஸ்ரீபுரவராதிசுபர காமகொட்டி(டி)ம் பிகாலப் தவர பிரஸாத.[1]

Hastigiri: *śrī puravarādiśubara kāmakoṭṭi(ṭi)mbhikāla-bdhavaraprasāda.*

11. சிதம்பரம்:

देव्या (स्तस्या) श्शिखरिदुहितुः कामकोष्ठस्थितायाः
प्राकारज्यामपिदयितमसौ क्लृप्तवान् मण्डपञ्च ।
किञ्चैतस्याः स्वपति नटनास्थानयोग्यप्रकारं
सत्यं भक्त्या सुकरमकरोत् भूषण मौलिपूर्वम् ॥[2]

पीताम्बरं काञ्चनमेष देव्याः तत् कामकोष्ठस्थितिमास्थितायाः ।
चकार यद्वैरविलासिनीनां वनाग्निधूमाम्बरतां करोति ॥[3]

Chidambaram: *devyāstasyāḥ śikharīduhituḥ kāmakoṣṭhasthitāyāḥ prākārajyāmapidayitamasau klṛptavān maṇḍapañca.*
kiñcaitasyāḥ svapati nāṭanāsthānayogyaprakāraṁ satyaṁ bhaktyā sukaramakarot bhūṣaṇaṁ mauli-pūrvam.
pitāṁbaram kāñcanameṣa devyāḥ tat kāmakoṣṭhasthi-tamāstitāyāḥ.
cakāra yadvairivilāsinīnāṁ vanāgnidhūmāmbaratām karoti.

12. மேலூர்: (பொன்னெரி தாலுக்கா, செங்கல்பட்டு ஜில்லா) திருக்காமகொட்டமுடைய திருவிடை நாச்சியாருக்கு.[4]

Melur: (Ponneri Taluk, Chinglepet Dist.)
tirukāmakoṭṭamuḍaiya tiruviḍainācciyārukku.

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1. *Ibid.*, Part III, Section I, No. 1209, p. 1220.
2. *Ibid.*, Part, II, Section II, No. 1271-73, pp. 1321-23.
3. *Ibid.*, The work Rājarājan Ulā speaks of Chidambaram as 'tirukkāmakoṭṭamum śuṟṟumāligaiyum.'
4. *A. R.* No. 139 of 1916.

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13. திருச்சத்திமுத்தம்: திருக்காமகொட்டமுடைய நாச்சியார் கீழ் திக மடவளாகம்.[1]

Tirucchattimuttam: *tirukkāmakoṭṭamuḍaiya nācciyār kīḻtika maḍavalāgam.*

14. இளையாத்தகுடி: காமகொட்ட நாச்சியார்.[2]

Ilayāttaguḍi: *kāmakoṭṭa nācchiyār.*

It is to be specifically noted here that in the *Tevāram* relating to Ālaṅguḍi to which referenee has been made earlier, Sambandar refers to the Goddess not merely as *Kāmakoṭi* but as *Kāmakoṭi* of Kacchi. Thus in unmistakable terms he says that the *sanctum* of the Goddess of the local shrine is the seat of the *śakti* manifested by the Goddess of the *Kāmakoṣṭha* of Kāñcī.

VI

Śilpa texts also speak of the seat of the Goddess of *Kāmakoṣṭha*. For instance, the *śilpa* text *Mānasāra* states:

कामकोष्ठविधिं वक्ष्ये (६५-१)

kāmakoṣṭhavidhiṁ vakṣye (65, 1)

The Śaiva-āgamas — the *Sūkṣmāgama* and the *Karuṇāgama* refer to the seat of the Goddess as *Kāmakoṣṭha*.

(*i*) कामकोष्ठविधिं वक्ष्ये शृणु त्वं तत् प्रभञ्जन ॥

[सूक्ष्मागमे शक्तिप्रतिष्ठाकामकोष्ठविधिपटलः]

kāmakoṣṭhavidhiṁ vakṣye śṛṇu tvaṁ tat prabhañjana.

[*Sūkṣmāgama*: *śaktipratiṣṭhā-kāmakoṭi-vidhipaṭala*]

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1. *A. R.* No. 487 of 1908.
2. Kailāsanātha Temple, Ilayāttaguḍi.

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(*ii*) भोगाङ्गमर्चनं कुर्यात् सर्वसंपत्समृद्धिदम् ।
रात्रौ पूजावसाने तु अर्धयामेन कारयेत् ॥
मन्दिरस्योत्तरे भागे कामकोष्ठस्य मध्यमे ॥

[करुणागमे योगाङ्गार्चनभागः]

bhogāṅgamarcanaṁ kuryāt sarvasampatasamṛddhidam |
rātrau pūjāvasāne tu ardhayāmena kārayet ||
mandirasya uttare bhāge kāmakoṣṭhasya madhyame ||

[*Karuṇāgama: Yogāṅgārcana-bhāga*]

Further, the *Lalitā-Sahasranāma* refers to the Goddess as *Kāmakoṭikā* [त्रिकूटा कामकोटिका , *trikūṭā kāmakoṭikā*], the *Lalitātriśatī* as *Kāmakoṭinilayā* [कामेश्वरी कामकोटिनिलया, *kāmeśvarī kāmakoṭinilayā*] and the *Lalitā-aṣṭottara* as *Kāmakoṭimahāpadmapīṭhasthā* [कामकोटिमहापद्मपीठस्थायै नामो नमः, *kāmakoṭimahāpadmapīṭhasthāyai namo namaḥ*]. Thus in the three stotras, the abode of the Goddess is referred to as *Kāmakoṭi*.

VII

A reference to this *Kāmakoṭṭa* is found in an inscription in a Jaina centre Śāttamangalam which is two and a half miles away from Vandavāsi. It is dated in the 14th century of Pallava Nandivarman II and it records an endowment for the feeding of Jain ascetics. This inscription says that one who violates the terms of that endowment would incur the sin of destroying the *Kāmakoṭṭa* :

..... இவ்வறமு ரோங்காப்
போமாக; ஒட்டினால் காமக்கொட்ட மழித்த
பாவமாக.....

..... *ivvaramu rōngāp*
pōmāha;oṭṭināl kāmakkoṭṭamaḷitta
pāvamāha .....

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From this it is clear that *Kāmakoṭṭa* was held sacred even at the time of Pallava Nandivarman.

VIII

We said earlier that there is a cave *(guhā)* inside the *sanctum* of Kāmākṣī temple and Goddess Kāmākṣī is present there in the form of the *akāśa* (ether) inside the cave (*guhākāśa.*) This is affirmed by the *Kāñcīpurāṇa* and the *Kāmākṣī-vilāsa.*

सखीभिः तत्र संमन्त्र्य प्राप्य काञ्चीपुरं शुभम् ।
तपस्स्थानं बिलं सूक्ष्मं परमं व्योम तत्स्मृतम् ॥

[काञ्चीपुराणे एकत्रिंशोऽध्यायः]

sakhībhiḥ tatra sammantrya prāpya kāñcīpuraṁ śubham |
tapassthānaṁ bilaṁ sūkṣmaṁ paramaṁ vyoma tatsmṛtam ||

[*Kāñcīpurāṇa*, 31.]

अत तत्र नृपश्रेष्ठ कामकोटिमहीतले ।
सिद्धतीर्थस्य चेशाने तृतीयांशे महाबिलम् ॥
तपस्स्थानं बिलं सूक्ष्मं परमं व्योम तत्स्मृतम् ।
बिलरूपेण वै काञ्च्यां प्रत्यक्षं मोक्षदं परम् ॥

[कामाक्षीविलासे एकदशोऽध्यायः]

atha tatra nṛpaśreṣṭha kāmakoṭimahītale |
siddhatīrthasya ceśāne tṛtīyāṁśe mahābilam ||
tapassthānaṁ bilaṁ sūkṣmaṁ paramaṁ vyoma tatsmṛtam |
bilarūpeṇa vai kāñcyāṁ pratyakṣaṁ mokṣadaṁ paraṁ ||

[*Kāmākṣīvilāsa*, 11]

To the north-west of the entrance to this cave, Kāmākṣī appears as doing penance, resting one foot on the ground and resting her right hand on her heart. This form is

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known as *tapaskāmākṣī*. To her left is seen Goddess Kāmākṣī in the sitting posture with a bow of sugarcane in one hand, flower arrows in another, noose in the third, and goad in the fourth.

धनुर्बाणान् पाशं सृणिमपि दधाना करतलैः ।
पुरस्तादास्तां नः पुरमथितुराहोपुरुषिका ॥

[सौन्दर्यलहरी, ७]

dhanurbhāṇān pāśaṁ sṛṇimapi dadhānā karatalaiḥ
purastādāstāṁ naḥ puramathiturāhopuruṣikā ||

[*Saundaryalāharī*, 7.]

कञ्चन काञ्चीनिलयं करधृतकोदण्डबाणसृणिपाशम् ।
कठिनस्तनभरनम्रं कैवल्यानन्दकन्दमवलम्बे ॥

[अर्याशतकम्, २]

kañcana kāñcīnilayaṁ karadhṛtakodaṇḍabāṇasṛṇipāśam |
kaṭinastanabharanamraṁ kaivalyānandakandamavalambe ||

[*Āryāśataka*, 2.]

There is a *Śrīcakra* consecrated by Śri Śaṅkarācārya in front of the Goddess. There are inscriptions which refer to the *Kumbhābhiṣeka* of the Kāmākṣī temple in recent centuries and to the refixing firmly of the *śrīcakra* — the original *pīṭha*.[1]

Thus we see that the same Goodess is present as formless in the ethereal space inside the cave *(bilākāśa)*, with a form in the siting posture and in the form of a

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1. *vide*: Dattmāñci Narasimhādhvari's Inscriptions:
   i. *pīṭhīmādyāṁ abhedyām akṛtakṛtamatiḥ śrīnṛsiṁhādhvarīndraḥ*, No. 350.
   ii. *narasiṁhādhvarī pīṭhīṁ ajīghaṭat*, No. 349.
   Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1954-'55.

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yantra in the *śrīcakra*. There is a *dharmastaṁbha* or *jayastaṁbha* in a small *maṇṭapa* situated in front of the *gopura* on the way to the inner *prākāra* from the outer one. Śekkiḷār, as we have referred to earlier, says that Goddess Kāmākṣī, by remaining here, fostered the thirty two virtues mentioned in the scriptures.

புண்ணியத்திருக்காம்கோட்டத்துபொலிய
முப்பத்தோடிரண்டறம் புரக்கும்

puṇṇiyattirukkāmakoṭṭattupoliya
muppattōḍiraṇḍaraṁ purakkum

This explains the significance of the names of the Goddes such as *dharmiṇī dharmavardhanī*[1] and the like occurring in the *Lalitāsahasranāma*.

When we go around the *gāyatrīmaṇṭapa* at the Kamākṣī temple, we find Goddess Śyāmalā with a *vīṇā* in Her hand. This form is described in the *Śyāmalā-daṇḍaka* of Kālidāsa thus:

माणिक्यवीणामुपलालयन्ती
मदालसां मञ्जुलवाग्विलासाम् ।
माहेन्द्रनीलद्युतिकोमलाङ्गीं
मातङ्गकन्यां मनसा स्मरामि ॥

māṇikyavīṇāṁ upalālayantīm
madālasāṁ mañjulavāgvilāsām |
māhendranīladyutikomalāṅgīṁ
mātaṅgakanyāṁ manasā smarāmi ||

To the south of the *sanctum* of the Kāmākṣī temple, there is a shrine which is one of the hundred and eight

1. *Lalitāsahasranāma*, verse, 176.

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divyadeśas celebrated by the Ālvārs. The presiding deity of this shrine is known as Kalvar. In the list of the one hundred and eight shrines, Kalvar is referred to as Ādivarāhamūrti.

इस दिव्यदेश के आराध्यदेव आदिवराह भगवान् अञ्जिलैवल्लि लक्ष्मीसमेत वामन विमान में पश्चिमाभिमुख खडे हुए हैं। कामाक्षीदेवी के मन्दिर में एक और दर्शन दे रहे हैं। इनका साक्षात्कार अश्वत्थ-नारायण ने और मङ्गलाशासन संत परकाल ने किया है। यह दिव्य देश और इसकी नित्यपुष्करिणी अब लुप्त हैं।

is divyadeś ke arādhyadev ādivarāh bhagavān añjilaivalli lakṣmīsameta vāman vimān mem paścimābhimukh khāḍe huye | kāmākṣīdevī ke mandir meṁ ek or darśan de rahe haim. | inkā sākṣātkār aśvatthanārāyaṇ ne aur maṅgalāśāsan sant parakāl ne kiyā hai. | yah divyadeś aur iskī nitya-puṣkariṇī adya lupta hai |

When Lakṣmīdevī was complaining about her husband—Viṣṇu to Goddess Kāmākṣī, Viṣṇu overheard this talk and thus came to be known as Kalvar. To the north of this *sanctum* there is the *mūrti* of Goddess Lakṣmī as *arūpalakṣmī*. It is customary for devotees to offer the *kumkum* received as *prasāda* of Goddess Kamākṣī at the feet of *arūpalakṣmī* and then to take it reverntly for their use.

X

Thus as Goddess Kamākṣī has withdrawn her powers into the *bilākāśā* there is no separate *sanctum* for the Goddess in any of the Śiva temples in Kāñcī. This we know only from *Kāñcī-sthala-purāṇa* and *Kāmākṣī-Vilāsa*. If these two

1. *vide*: *Tirthāṅk*, Annual Number of Kalyan for the year 1957, p. 92.

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works are not handed down to posterity, one cannot explain the millennium-old temple construction scheme without a *sanctum* for Goddess in any of the Śiva temples within the city limits of *Kāñcī*. The *Ālaṅguḍi Tevāram* of Sambandar which refers to the seat of Goddes in the Śiva temple at Ālaṅguḍi as *kacchimūdūr kāmakoṭi* makes it clear that the seats of the Goddess in all the Śiva temples are referred to as *Kāmakoṣṭha* because of *śakti* of the Goddess there has emanated from the *bilākāśa* of the *Kāmakoṣṭha* at Kāñcī.

Those who are not able to have a *darśan* of this holy *Kāmakoṣṭha* could daily recite the following verses while taking bath.

तस्मादवश्यं कर्तव्यं काभकोष्ठस्य दर्शनम् ।
न चेन्नित्यं स्नानकाले श्लोकानेतान् पठेन्नरः ॥

स्वामिपुष्करिणीतीर्थं पूर्वसिन्धुः पिनाकिनी ।
शिलाह्रदश्चतुर्मध्यं यावत्तुण्डीरमण्डलम् ॥

मध्ये तुण्डीरभूवृत्तं कम्पा वेगवती द्वयोः ।
तयोर्मध्ये कामकोष्ठं कामाक्षी[1] तत्र वर्तते ॥

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1. It is contended that the idol of Kāmakṣī was originally of the form of Buddhist Tārā Devī and that it was fashioned after the *dhyāna*-ślokas of *Śrī-Vidyā*. It is also contended that the *Śvarṇa*-Kāmākṣī may be the Goddess of Jain faith —Dharmadevī. These contentions, however, cannot be upheld; for, neither Goddess Tārā of Buddhist faith nor the Dharmadevī of Jaina faith has *īkṣukodaṇḍa puṣpabāṇa*, *pāśa* and *aṅkuśa*. It cannot be said that all these weapons are rechistelled out of the idols of the goddess of the Buddhist or Jaina faith; for, a new *mūrti* could easily be sculptured instead rechistelling the idols of goddess of Buddhist or Jaina faith into that of Kāmākṣī. Even admitting for the

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स एव विग्रहो देव्याः मूलभूतोऽद्रिराड् भुवः ।
नान्योऽस्ति विग्रहो देव्याः काञ्च्यां तन्मूलविग्रहः ॥

जगत्कामकलाकारं नाभिस्थानं भुवः परम् ।
पादपद्मस्य कामाक्ष्याः महापीठं उपास्महे ॥

कामकोटिस्स्मृतस्सोयं कारणादेव चिन्नभः ।
यत्र कामकृतो धर्मो जन्तुना येन केन वा ॥

सकृद्वापि सुधर्माणां फलं फलति कोटिशः ।
यो जपेत् कामकोष्ठेऽस्मिन् मन्त्रमिष्टार्थदैवतम् ॥

कोटिवर्णफलेनैव मुक्तिलोकं स गच्छति ।
यो जपेत् कामकोष्ठेऽस्मिन् क्षणार्धं वा तदर्धकम् ॥

मुच्यते सर्वपापेभ्यः साक्षाद् देवी नराकृतिः ।
गायत्रीमण्डपाधारं भूनाभिस्थानमुत्तमम् ॥

पुरुषार्थप्रदं शम्भोः विलाभ्रं तन्नमाम्यहम् ।
यः कुर्यात् कामकोष्ठस्य विलाभ्रस्य प्रदक्षिणम् ॥

पदसङ्ख्याक्रमेणैव गोगर्भजननं लभेत् ॥
विश्वकारणनेत्राढ्यां श्रीमत्त्रिपुरसुन्दरीम् ॥

भण्डकासुरसंहर्त्रीं कामाक्षीं तामहं भजे ।
पराजन्मदिने काञ्च्यां महाभ्यन्तरमार्गतः ॥

योऽर्चयेत् तत्र कामाक्षीं कोटिपूजाफलं लभेत् ।
तत्फलोत्पन्नकैवल्यं सकृत्कामाक्षिसेवया ॥

त्रिस्थाननिलयं देवं त्रिविधाकारमच्युतम् ।
प्रतिलिङ्गाग्रसंयुक्तं भूतबन्धं तमाश्रये ॥

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sake of argument that the idol of Kāmākṣī is the rechistelled form of Tārā, yet it should be noted that Tārā is the Goddess referred to in the *Śrīvidyāmnāya*.

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tasmāt avaśyam kartavyaṁ kāmakoṣṭhasya darśanam |
na cennityaṁ snānakāle ślokānetān paṭhennaraḥ ||

svāmipuṣkariṇītīrthaṁ pūrvasindhuḥ pinākinī |
śilāhradaścaturmadhyaṁ yāvat tuṇḍīramaṇḍalam ||

madhye tuṇḍīrabhūvṛttam kampāvegavatī dvayoḥ |
tayormadhye kamakoṣṭham kāmākṣi tatra vartate ||

sa eva vigraho devyāḥ mūlabhūto' drirāṭ bhuvaḥ |
nā'nyosti vigraho devyāḥ kāñcyāṁ tanmūlavigrahaḥ ||

jagatkāmakalākāraṁ nābhisthānaṁ bhuvaḥ param |
pādapadmasya kāmākṣyāḥ mahāpīṭhamupāsmahe ||

kāmakoṭīssmṛtasso'yaṁ kāraṇādeva cinnabhaḥ |
yatra kāmakrto dharmo jantunā ena kena vā ||

sakṛdvāpi sudharmāṇāṁ phalaṁ phalati koṭiśaḥ |
yo japet kāmakoṣṭe'smin mantramiṣṭārthadaivatam ||

koṭivarṇaphalenaiva muktilokaṁ sa gacchati |
yo vaset kāmakoṣṭhe'smin kṣaṇārdham vā tadardhakam ||

mucyate sarvapāpebhyāḥ sākṣāddevī narākṛtiḥ |
gāyatrīmaṇḍapādhāraṁ bhūnābhisthānamuttamam ||

puruṣārthapradam śaṁboḥ bilābhraṁ tannamāmyaham |
yaḥ kuryāt kāmakoṣṭhasya bilābhrasya pradakṣiṇam ||

padasaṅkhyākrameṇaiva gogarbhajananaṁ labhet |
viśvakārāṇanetrāḍhyāṁ śrīmattripurasundarīm ||

bhaṇḍakāsurasaṁhartriṁ kāmākṣīṁ tāmahm bhaje |
parājanmadine kāñcyāṁ mahābhyantaramārgataḥ ||

yo'rcayet tatra kāmākṣīm koṭipūjāphalam labhet |
tatphalotpannakaivalyaṁ sakṛt kāmākṣisevayā ||

tristhānanilayaṁ devaṁ trividhākāramacyutam |
pratiliṅgāgrasaṁyuktaṁ bhūtabandham tamāśraye ||

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PART TWO

ĀDI ŚAṄKARA'S CONNECTION WITH KĀÑCĪ

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LITERARY EVIDENCES

There are numerous works in Sanskrit and other languages that deal with the life-story of Śrī Śaṅkara. These works can be brought under five broad categories which are as follows:

(i) works written in Sanskrit which are purely of biographical nature;

(ii) ancient treatises in Sanskrit wherein specific details in the life of Śrī Śaṅkara are given;

(iii) works relating to Śāṅkarite Institutions containing information about Śrī Śaṅkara;

(iv) articles and references by scholars in periodicals; and,

(v) modern works in different languages about Śrī Śaṅkara either in the form of narratives or of research studies.

Among the purely biographical sketches of Śrī Śaṅkara, four can be reckoned as important:

(i) the *Śaṅkaradigvijaya* attributed to Mādhava;

(ii) the *Śaṅkaravijaya* of Cidvilāsa;

(iii) the *Śaṅkaravijaya* of Ānandagiri; and,

(iv) the *Śaṅkarābhydaya* of Rājacūḍāmaṇidīkṣita[1]

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1. Apart from these four biographies extant, printed and

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Almost all works dealing with the life of Śrī Śaṅkara contain references to his being instrumental in the construction of the temple of Devī Kāmākṣī at Kāñcī, and his consecrating the *Śrīcakra* in front of Śrī Kāmākṣī. The *Śaṅkaravijaya* attributed to Śrī Mādhava does not refer to Goddess Kāmākṣī by name. It, however, states that after having worshipped Śrī Rāmanātha at Rāmeśvaram Śrī Śaṅkara reached Kañcī, had a temple built there on the pattern of *paravidyāśaraṇa* and replaced the tāntric mode of worship practised therein by the vedic mode.

अभिपूज्य स तत्र रामनाथं सह पाण्ड्यैः स्ववशे विधाय चोलान् ।
द्रविडाँश्च ततो जगाम काञ्चीं नगरीं हस्तिगिरेर्नितम्बकाञ्चीम् ॥

abhipūjya sa tatra rāmanātham saha pāṇḍyaiḥ svavaśe vidhāya colān
draviḍāṁśca tato jagāma kāñcīṁ nagarīm hastigirer nitaṁbakāñcīm
(15.4)

सुरधाम स तत्र कारयित्वा परविद्या [श] (च) रणानुसारि चित्रम् ।
अपवार्य च तान्त्रिकानतानीत् भगवत्याः श्रुतिसम्मतां सपर्याम् ॥

suradhāma sa tatra kārayitvā paravidyā[ś] (c) arāṇānusāri citram
apavārya ca tāntrikānatānīt bhagavatyāḥ śrutisammatām saparyām
(15-5)

The expression *paravidyāśaraṇānusāricitram* in this verse means in accordance with the *śaraṇa* of *paravidyā*. The reference is to the *Koṇa*-s or angles of *Śrī Cakra* — the abode of *paravidyā*.

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manuscript copies of the *Śaṅkaravijaya* of Govindanātha and that of Vyāsācala are available and also modern works in Sanskrit such as *Bhagavatpādābhyudayam*, *Śaṅkarācāryamahimā*, and the like. Further, references to two other works, namely, the *Prācīna-śaṅkaravijaaa* and *Bṛhacchaṅkaravijaya* in other texts are also found.

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The *Cidvilāsīyaśaṅkaravijaya* says that Śrī Śaṅkara during his stay at Kāñcī drew and consecrated the *śrīcakra* with his own hand at the temple of Kāmākṣī and ascended the *Sarvajñāpīṭha* there. This text devotes almost a whole chapter to describe this great event.

कामाक्ष्या परतो देशे श्रीचक्रं स्वयमालिखत् ।
श्रीचक्रपश्चाद्भागे तु कामाक्षीं ज्ञानरूपिणीम् ॥
प्रतिष्ठाप्य ... ...
... ...
आरुरोह अथ सर्वज्ञपीठं देशिकपुङ्गवः ॥

kāmākṣyāḥ purato deśe śrīcakraṁ svayam ālikhat
śrīcakrapaścādbhāge tu kāmākṣīm jñānarūpiṇīm
pratiṣṭhāpya .....
.....
āruroha atha sarvajñapīṭhaṁ deśikapuṅgavaḥ

The *Ānandagiri-śaṅkaravijaya* has been recognized by competent scholars, western as well as Indian, as the authentic biography of Śrī Śaṅkara. Referring to Prof. Wilson's observation regarding Ānandagiri's *Śaṅkaravijaya* in his *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, the Late Justice K. T. Telang says that 'Prof Wilson was in effect satisfied with the credentials of this work.'[1] Monier Williams in his monumental *Sanskrit-English* Dictionary refers to two other *Śaṅkaravijaya's* besides the present one and considers this to be an authentic one.[2]

The *Guruvaṁśakāvya* which gives an account of the line of succession of the *ācārya*-s in the Śṛṅgeri-*maṭha* devotes

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1. *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol V, (1876), p. 287.
2. (i) *Śaṅkara-dig-vijaya*: name of a fanciful account of the controvessial exploits of Śaṅkarācārya (q.v) by Mādhavācārya (also called *Saṁkṣepaśaṅkarajnya*).

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the first three chapters to the life of Śrī Śaṅkara. Referring to the sources of information regarding Śrī Śaṅkara, the author states that he has followed the narrations of great poet-seers (*kavīndraiḥ*).[1] In the commentary to this work written by the author himself, the expression *kavindraiḥ* (by great poet-seers) is explained as *ānandagiriyatīndrādibhiḥ — by Ānandagiri and other great* ascetics.[2]

Sadānanda in his *Śaṅkaradigvijayasāra* states that the biography of Śrī Śaṅkara has already been written by great ascetics (*Yativaraiḥ*).

शैवे सूचितमादितो यतिवरैः बद्धं पुरा ग्रन्थतः

śaive sūcitam ādito yativaraiḥ baddhaṁ purā granthataḥ

And the expression — *Yativaraiḥ* is interpreted in the commentary as 'by Ānandagiri and others.'[3]

In the *Anandagīriya-Śaṅkara-vijaya* of such great importance, it is said that Śrī Saṅkara consecrated Kāmākṣī and

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(ii) *Śaṅkara-vijaya*: name of Ānandagiri's biography of Śaṅkarācārya (recording his controversial victories, as a Vedāntin, over numerous heretics).

(iii) *Śaṅkara-vijaya*: name of a fanciful life of Śaṅkarācārya in the form of a dialogue between Cidvilāsa and Vijñānakanda. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1899). pp. 1058-1055.

1. The Work-*Guruvaṁśakāvyam* was composed by Kāśī Lakṣmaṇa Śāstri under the direction of Śrī Saccidānandabhāratī Svāmi, Head of the Śṛṅgeri Maṭha (1770-1814) and was published at the Śrī Vāṇi Vilas Press, Śrīraṅgam during the year 1928. vide: *The Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of Mysore*, 1928, p. 15.

2. *Guruvaṁśakāvyam*, p. 6.

3. *Śrī Śaṅkaradigvijayasāra*, p. 4.

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Śrīcakra at Kāñcī and attained *siddhi* there. It also specifically refers to the fact that Śrī Śaṅkara obtained five *sphaṭika-liṅga-s* from Śiva at Kailāsa, established the *Kāmākoṭi-pīṭha* at Kañcī and directed Sureśvara to be in charge of it.

तस्मादुदङ्मार्गमवलम्ब्य योगविद्याप्राप्तवियत्पथसञ्चारः कैलासमधिगम्य पार्वतीसमेतं परमेश्वरं प्रणम्य स्वात्मतयानुसन्धानशीलस्य परमगुरोरग्रतः परमेश्वरः पञ्चस्फाटिकलिङ्गानि प्रकाशयामास। ... ... केदारक्षेत्रे एकं मुक्तिलिङ्गाख्यं प्रतिष्ठाप्य ... नीलकण्ठक्षेत्रं प्राप्य ... वरनामकं लिङ्गं प्रतिष्ठाप्य [55] ... श्रृङ्गगिरिसमीपे तुङ्गभद्रातीरे ... निजमठं कृत्वा [62] ... ... भोगनामकं लिङ्गं तस्मिन् पीठे निक्षिप्य [63] ... ... तत्रैव [काञ्च्यां] निजावासयोग्यं मठमपि परिकल्प्य ... ... सुरेश्वरमाहूय योगनामकं लिङ्गं पूजय इति तस्मै दत्त्वा त्वमत्र कामकोटिपीठमधिवस इति व्यवस्थाप्य [65]

tasmādudaṅmārgam avalaṁbya yogavidyāprāptaviyatpathasañcāraḥ
kailāsamadhigamya pārvatī sametam parameśvaraṁ praṇamya
svātmatayā anusandhānaśīlasya paramaguroragrataḥ parameśvaraḥ
pañcasphāṭikaliṅgāni prakāśayāmāsa .....
kedārakṣetre muktiliṅgākhyaṁ pratiṣṭhāpya .....
nīlakanṭhakṣetraṁ prāpya ..... varanāmakaṁ liṅgaṁ
pratiṣṭhāpya (55th Ch.) .....
..... *śṛṅgagirisamīpe tuṅgabhadrātīre .....*
nijamaṭhaṁ kṛtvā (62nd Ch.) ..... *bhoganāmakaṁ liṅgaṁ*
tasmin pīṭhe nikṣipya (63rd Ch.) .....
tatraiva (kāñcyām) nijāvāsayogyaṁ maṭhamapi parikalpya.....
sureśvaram āhūya yoganāmakaṁ liṅgaṁ pūjaya iti tasmai dattvā
tvam atra kāmakoṭipīṭhamadhivasa iti vyavasthāpya (65th Ch.)

Further, this work affirms that Śrī Śaṅkara attained *siddhi* at Kāñci.

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... स्वयं स्वलोकं गन्तुमिच्छुः काञ्चीनगरे मुक्तिस्थले कदाचिदुपविश्य ... सर्वजगद्व्यापकरूपचैतन्यमभवत् [74].

..... svayaṁ svalokaṁ gantumicchuḥ kāñcīnagare muktisthale kadācidupaviśya ..... sarvajagadvyāpakacaitanyamabhavat

(74th Ch.)

The *Guruparaṁparāstotra* published by Dr Hultzch in his report on *The Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in South India*[1] devotes some verses recording a few events in Śrī Śaṅkara's life. It is stated therein that Srī Śaṅkara, having travelled all over India, reached Kāñcī of his own accord, consecrated Kāmākṣī and attained eternal bliss there.

अगच्छत् स्वेच्छया काञ्चीं पर्यटन् पृथिवीतले ।
तत्र संस्थाप्य कामाक्षीं जगाम परमं पदम् ॥

agacchat svecchayā kāñciṁ paryaṭan pṛthvītale
tatra saṁsthāpya kāmākṣīṁ jagāma paramaṁ padaṁ

The *Jagadgurupāraṁparyastuti*[2] which consists of a list of preceptors at the Śaṅkarite Institution at Kūḍali at the confluence of the rivers — the Tuṅgā and the Bhadrā contains a verse almost similar to the above.

स्वेच्छया पर्यटन् भूमौ ययौ काञ्चीपुरीं गुरुः ।
तत्र संस्थाप्य कामाक्षीं देवीं परम् अगात् पदम् ॥

svecchayā paryaṭan bhūmau yayau kāñcīpurīṁ guruḥ
tatra saṁsthāpya kāmākṣīṁ devīṁ param agāt padam

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1. Published by the Government Press, Madras, 1905. See Part III, No. 2146.

2. Published at the Seshadri Press, Mysore, 1946.

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The *Patañjalicarita* of Śrī Rāmabhadradīkṣita (1684-1711 A. D) deals with the life of Śrī Śaṅkara in the last chapter and concludes by saying that Śrī Śaṅkara spent his last days at Kāñcī.[1]

गोविन्ददेशिकमुपास्य चिराय भक्त्या तस्मिन् स्थिते निजमहिम्नि विदेहमुक्त्या ।
अद्वैतभाष्यमुपकल्प्य दिशो विजित्य काञ्चीपुरे स्थितिमवाप स शङ्करार्यः ॥

govindadeśikam upāsya cirāya bhaktyā tasmin sthite nijamahimni videhamuktyā
advaitabhāṣyam upakalpya diśo vijitya kañcīpure sthitimavāpa sa śaṅkarāryaḥ

The *Śaṅkarābhyudaya* of Śrī Rājacūḍamaṇidīkṣita (1636 A.D.) states that Śrī Śaṅkara spent his last days at Kāñcī, worshipping Kameśvarī on the banks of the river Kaṁpā and attained *siddhi* there.[2]

कम्पातीरनिवासिनीमनुदिनं कामेश्वरीमर्चयन् ।
ब्रह्मानन्दमविन्दत त्रिजगदतां क्षेमङ्करः शङ्करः ॥

kaṁpātīranivāsinīm anudinam kāmeśvarīmarcayan
brahmānandamavindata trijagatāṁ kṣemaṅkaraḥ śaṅkaraḥ

An ancient and voluminous work — *Śivarahasya* which is of the nature of an *Itihāsa* consists of more than fifty

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1. Rāmabhadradīkṣita: *Patañjalicarita*, (Kāvyamālā Series, No. 51, Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay), 8-71.

2. (a) *Sahṛdaya Saṁpuṭa* IV Sañcikā, p. 240. Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam.

   (b) *Śaṅkarābhyudaya*, Published by Simizhi Venkatrama Sastri Trust, 1986.

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thousand verses. It was published in Canarese script with Kannada translation in the Mahārāja Jayachāmrājendra Granthamālā Series as volume No. 32 in the year 1950 in thirty volumes. It is referred to as an authority in the *Dharmaśāstra* work *Nirṇayasindu*. The 16th Chapter of the 9th *aṁśa* of this work refers to the life and work of Śrī Śaṅkara. Towards the end of this chapter, it is said that Śrī Śaṅkara worshipped the five *sphaṭikaliṅga*-s brought from Kailāsa and attained *siddhi* at Kāñcī.

तद्योगभोगवरमुक्तिसुमोक्षयोगलिङ्गार्चनात् प्राप्तजयस्वकाश्रयम् ।
तान्वै विजित्य तरसाक्षतशास्त्रवादैः मिश्रान् स काञ्च्यामथ
सिद्धिमाप ॥

tadyogabhogavarmuktisumokṣayogaliṅgārcanāt
prāptajayasvakāśrayam
tānvai vijitya tarasākṣataśāstravādaiḥ miśrān sa
kāñcyām atha siddhimāpa

The whole of the chapter is quoted verbatim in the commentary — *Advaitarājyalākṣmī* on verse 103 of the 16th Chapter of the *Śaṅkaravijaya* attributed to Mādhava. Thus the *Śivarahasya* which is an independent work testifies to the fact of Śrī Śaṅkara attaining *siddhi* at Kāñcī.

The *Purāṇic* treatise — *Mārkaṇḍeya-Saṁhitā* contains particulars about the life of Śaṅkarācārya. The 7th and the 8th section *(parispandas)* of the 72nd Chapter of the work give an account of the life of Śaṅkarācārya. It is stated therein that five *sphaṭika-liṅga-s* were obtained by Śaṅkarācārya from Lord Śiva. It also mentions the various places where Śaṅkarācārya installed them, namely, the *Mokṣa-liṅga* at Cidambaram, the *Mukti-liṅga* at Kedāra,

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the *Vara-liṅga* at Nīlakaṇṭhakṣetra, the *Bhoga-liṅga* at Śriṅgeri and the *Yoga-liṅga* at Kāñcī. This work further mentions that Śaṅkarācārya consecrated the *Śricakra* at the Kāmākṣī temple, established the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* at Kāñcī, installed Sureśvara as the head of the *pīṭha* and attained siddhi there.

गत्वा कैलासशैलं जगदखिलगुरुः शङ्कराचार्ययोगी
दृष्ट्वा साम्बं शिवं तं स्वयमिति सुचिरं चिन्तयन्नन्तरङ्गे।
लब्ध्वा पञ्चात्मलिङ्गान्यमलतरशुभालिङ्गितान्यङ्गभाजां
भूत्यै सौन्दर्यसारं हिमगिरिदुहितुः प्रापयन् गामयासीत्॥
काञ्च्यां श्रीकामकोटीं कलिमलशमनीं कल्पयित्वा सुरेशे
श्रीविद्याराजपीठार्चनमहितमहाराज्यसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मीम्।
संवेश्यात्मीयशिष्ये सकलभुवनसंमोदहेतोर्महात्मा
चिद्रूपस्वानुभूतिं भजति भवमहाम्भोधिसन्तारणाय॥
शिवलिङ्गं प्रतिष्ठाप्य चिदम्बरसभातले।
मोक्षदं सर्वजन्तूनां भुवनत्रयसुन्दरम्॥
वैदिकान् दीक्षितान् शुद्धान् शैवसिद्धान्तपारगान्।
पूजार्थं युयुजे शिष्यान् पुण्यारण्यविहारिणः॥
मुक्तिलिङ्गं तु केदारे नीलकण्ठे वरेश्वरम्।
प्रतिष्ठाप्य महायोगी परां प्रीतिमवाप सः॥
काञ्च्यां श्रीकामकोटौ तु योगालिङ्गमनुत्तमम्।
प्रतिष्ठाप्य सुरेशार्थं पूजार्थं युयुजे गुरुः॥
श्रीशङ्कराचार्ययोगी शृङ्गगिरिस्थानमगमदखिलेशः।
श्रीशारदाख्यपीठे शिवलिङ्गं भोगनामकं चक्रे॥

[मार्कण्डेयसंहिता — 72.7.10-16]

gatvā kailāsaśalilam jagadakhilaguruḥ śaṅkarācāryayogī
dṛṣṭvā śāmbaṁ śivaṁ taṁ svayamiti suciraṁ cintayannantaraṅge
labdhvā pañcātmaliṅgānyamalataraśubhāliṅgitānyangabhājāṁ
bhūtyai saundaryasāraṁ himagiriduhituḥ prāpayan gāmayāsīt

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kāñcyāṁ śrī kāmakoṭīṁ kalimalaśamanīṁ kalpayitvā sureśe
śrīvidyārājapīṭhārcanamahitamahārājyasāmrājyalakṣmīm
saṁveśyātmīyaśiṣye sakala bhuvanasammodahetormahātmā
cidrūpasvānubhūtiṁ bhajati bhavamahāmbhodhisantāraṇāya
śivaliṅgaṁ pratiṣṭhāpya cidambarasabhātale
mokṣadam sarvajantūnāṁ bhuvanatrayasundaram
vaidikān dīkṣitān śuddhān śaivasiddhāntapāragān
pūjārtham yuyuje śiṣyān puṇyāraṇyavihāriṇaḥ
kāñcyāṁ śrī kāmakoṭau tu yogaliṅgamanuttamam
pratiṣṭhāpya sureśāryaṁ pūjārthaṁ yuyuje guruḥ
śrī śaṅkarācāryayogī śriṅgagiristhānamagamadakhileśaḥ
śrī śāradākhyapīṭhe śivaliṅgaṁ bhoganāmakaṁ cakre

(*Mārkaṇḍeya-saṁhitā*, (72. 7.10-16).

It is further stated that Śrī Padmapāda was installed at the Institution on the banks of the river *Tuṅgabhadrā* and Sureśvara, at the Institution at Kāñcī.

श्रीदेशिकः पद्मपदं स्वाशिष्यं पाखण्डखण्डार्थमतिप्रचण्डम् ।
शृङ्गाद्रिदेशे श्रिततुङ्गभद्रे नियोजयामास स शङ्करार्यः ॥
सुरेश्वराचार्यवरं स्वशिष्यं काञ्चीपुरीसुन्दरकामकोटौ ।
श्रीचन्द्रमौलीश्वरपूजनार्थं नियोज्य चक्रेऽस्य धराधिपत्यम् ॥

śrī deśikaḥ padmapadaṁ svaśiṣyam
pākhaṇḍakhaṇḍārthamatīpracaṇḍam
śrīṅgādrideśe śrītatuṅgabhadre
niyojayāmāsa sa śaṅkarāryaḥ
sureśvarācāryavaraṁ svaśiṣyaṁ
kāñcīpurī-sundara-kāmakoṭau
śrīcandramaulīśvarapūjanārtham
niyojya cakre asya dharādhipatyam (*Ibid.* 73/7/1-2)

The reference to some of the important events in Śrī Śaṅkara's life in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Saṁhitā* cannot be consi-

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dered to be apocryphal. In the colophon of an incomplete pālm-leaf manuscript (of only two folios) with the title *Śaṅkaracaritram* in Grantha script, found in the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, it is stated that it is the *seventh parispanda* of the 72nd Chapter of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Saṃhitā.*[1]

In Śrī Harṣa's *Naiṣadha Kāvya*, there is a verse, which refers to the *Yoga-Liṅga* at Kāñcī:

> सिन्धोर्जैत्रमयं पवित्रमसृजत् तत्कीर्तिपूताद्भुतं
> यत्र स्नान्ति जगन्ति सन्ति कवयः के वा न वाचंयमाः ।
> यद्विन्दुश्रियमिन्दुरञ्चति जलं चाविश्य दृश्येतरो
> यस्यासौ जलदेवता स्फटिकभूः जागर्ति योगेश्वरः ॥ [12-38].

In some editions of the *Kāvya*, the last word of the verse is found as *Yāgeśvara* instead of *Yogeśvara*. Baldeva Upadhyāya in his work *Śrī Śaṅkarācārya* in Hindi refers to the two readings and affirms that the reading *Yogeśvara* is correct.[2]

काञ्ची के लिग के नाम के विषय में कहीं यागेश्वर और कहीं योगेश्वर पाठ मिलता है। परन्तु पूर्वापर का अच्छी तरह समन्वय कर योगेश्वर पाठही ठीक प्रतीत होता है। नैषध में [12-38] काञ्ची स्थित जिस स्फटिकलिङ्ग-का वर्णन है, वह शङ्कर द्वारा स्थापित योगेश्वर लिङ्ग ही है।

All these go to prove that Śrī Śaṅkara established the *Kāmakoṭī-pīṭha* at Kāñcī and attained *siddhi* there. But

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1. *Vide* Appendix for details.
2. Baldev Upādhyāya: *Śrī Śaṅkarācārya*, Hindustan Academy, Allahabad, 1963, p. 144.

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various other places have been mentioned as the *siddhisthala* of Śrī Śaṅkara. And we shall now deal with this point in some detail.

The *Śaṅkaravijaya* attributed to Mādhava mentions Kedārnath as the last resort of Śrī Śaṅkara.[1] The *Guruvaṁśakāvya* referred to earlier holds Ānandagiri's *Śaṅkara-vijaya* as the authentic biography of Śaṅkarācārya. But as regards the *siddhisthala* of Śaṅkarācārya the *Guruvaṁśa-kāvya* differs from the tradition recorded in the Ānandagiri's *Śaṅkara-vijaya*, namely, that Śaṅkarācārya's *siddhisthala* is Kāñcī. The *Guruvaṁśakāvya* while dealing with the last days of Śaṅkarācārya says:

मत्वा यतीन्द्रः कृतकृत्यभावं महत्समाभाषणमाप्तुकामः ।
स्वच्छन्दचारी मुनिराजदत्तात्रेयस्य रम्याश्रममाजगाम ॥
औकं समस्तान्यपि पुस्तकानि शिष्यान् समस्तानपि तानमुञ्चम् ।
आस्तामिमौ दण्कमण्डलू चेत्यालोच्य तत्याज स तौ च योगी ॥
दण्डो द्रूरूपेण सपर्यणींसीत् तीर्थात्मना चाम्बु कमण्डलुस्थम् ।
महात्मनो हस्तपरिग्रहेण जटौ च तौ सार्थतनू अभूताम् ॥
दत्तात्रेयं भुवनविनुतं वीक्ष्य नत्वा न्यगादी-
द्वृत्तं स्वीयं सकलमपि तान् प्रेषितान् दिक्षु शिष्यान् ।
सोऽपि श्रुत्वा मुनिपतिरदादाशिषो विश्वरूपा-
चार्यादिभ्यो सुखमवसतां तत्र तौ भाषमाणौ ॥ [3,67-70]

matvā yatīndraḥ kṛtakṛtyabhāvaṁ
mahat samābhāṣaṇamāptukāmaḥ
svacchandacārī munirājadattā-
treyasya ramyāśramam ājagāma

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1. *Śrīmacchaṇkaradigvijaya*, Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, No. 22, 1891, Canto 16, Verse 100.

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aukam samastānyapi pustakāni
śiṣyān samasthānyapi tān amuñcam
āstāmimau daṇḍakamaṅḍalū cet-
yālocya tatyāja sa tau ca yogī
daṇḍo drurūpeṇa sa paryaṇamsīt
tirthātmanā cāmbu kamaṇḍalustham
mahātmano hastaparigraheṇa
jaḍau ca tau sārthatanū abhūtām
dettātreyaṁ bhuvanavinutaṁ vīkṣya natvā nyagādīt
vṛttaṁ svīyaṁ sakalamapi tān preṣitān dikṣu śiṣyān
sopi śrutvā munipatiradādāśiṣo viśvarūpā —
cāryadibhyo sukhamavastāṁ tatra tāu bhāṣamāṇau (III.67-70).

Śaṅkarācārya towards the close of his career went from Siddheśvara in Nepal to Dattātreya-Āśrama, left his *daṇḍa* and *kamaṇḍalu* which respectively became a tree and a tank, stayed at the Dattātreya-āśrama at Mahūripuri conversing with Śrī Dattātreya.

The commentary on the above says:

सोऽपि दत्तात्रेयोऽपि मुनिपतिः विश्वरुपाचार्यादिभ्यो आशिषः अदात् - दत्तवान्। तत्र - महूरिपुरे, भाषमाणौ - संलपन्तौ तौ - दत्तात्रेयशङ्कराचार्यौ चिरं - बहुकालं अवसतां - उषितवन्तौ ॥

sopi-dattātreyo'pi munipatiḥ viśvarūpācāryādibhyo āśiśaḥ adāt-dattavān. tatra mahūripure, bhāṣamāṇau-saṁlapantau tau-dattātreya śaṅkārācāryau ciram-bahukālaṁ avasatāṁ uśitavantau.

This Mahūripuri is referred to in the *Tirthāṇka* which has a shrine of Dattātreya.[1]

मध्यरेल्वे की भुसावल नागपूर लैन पर मूर्तिजापूर स्टेशन है। वहां से एक लैन यवतमाल तक जाती है। यवतमाल

1. Annual Number of Kalyan for the year 1957, p. 239.

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से माहूरक्षेत्र समीप है। माहूरक्षेत्र में अनसूयादत्त पर्वत पर महर्षि जमदग्नि कि समाधि है। रेणुकादेवी का मन्दिर है। और परशुराम कुण्ड है। कहा जाता है कि भगवान् दत्तात्रेय का आश्रम यहीं था। दत्तात्रेयजी जमदग्नि ऋषि के गुरु थे। गुरु की आज्ञा से महर्षि जमदग्नि अपनी पत्नी रेणुका देवी के साथ यहां आये और यहीं उन्हों ने तथा रेणुकाजी ने समाधि लि। किले के भीतर महाकाली का मन्दिर तथा सरोवर है।

madhyarelve kī bhusāval nāgpur lain par mūrtijāpūr steśan hai. vahāṁ se ek lain yavatmāl tak jātī hai. yavatmāl se māhūrkṣetra samīp hai. māhūrkṣetra meṁ anasūyādattaparvat par maharṣi jamadagni ki samādhi hai. reṇukā devī kā mandir hai. aur paraṣurām kuṇḍa hai. kahā jātā hai bhagavān dattātreya kā āśrama yahim thā. dattātraeyajī jamadagnirṣi ke guru the. guru kī ājñā se maharṣi jamadagni apnī patnī reṇukā devī ke sāt yahāṁ āye aur yahīm unhom ne tathā reṇukā ji ne samādhi li. kile ke bhītar mahākāli kā mandir tathā sarovar hai.

According to the *Cidvilāsīya-Śaṅkara-Vijaya* the Dattāreyaguhā in Badari is the last resort of Śrī Śaṅkara.

वितन्वन् बदरीं प्राप तपोदानकृताश्रयम् ।
दिनानि कतिचित् तत्र स्वच्छन्दमवसत् सुखी ॥ [31-25]

इत्युक्त्वा शङ्कराचार्यकरपल्लवमादरात् ।
अवलम्ब्य कराग्रेण दत्तात्रेयस्स तापसः ॥
प्रविवेश गुहाद्वारं दत्त्वा आज्ञां जनसन्ततेः ।
क्रमात् जगाम कैलासं प्रमथैः परिवेष्टितम् ॥ [31.48-49]

vitanvan badarīm prāpa tapodānakṛtāśrayam
dināni katicit tatra svacchandaṁ avasat sukhī [31-25]

ityuktvā śaṅkarācāryakarapallavam ādarāt
avalambya karāgreṇa dattātreyas sa tāpasaḥ
praviveśa guhādvāraṁ dattvā ājñāṁ janasantateḥ
kramāt jagāma kailāsaṁ pramathaiḥ pariveṣṭitam (31-48, 49)

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From the above it follows that as regards the place where Śaṅkarācārya spent his last days, the *Guruvaṁśa-kāvya* does not follow either the *Mādhavīya-Śaṅkara-vijaya* which mentions Kedārnath as Śaṅkarācārya's last resort or *Cidvilāsiya-Śaṅkara-Vijaya* which refers to the Dattātreya–guhā in Badari as the last resort of Śaṅkarācārya.

We can infer from this discussion either that the *Mādhavīya* and the *Cidvilāsīya-Śaṅkara-Vijaya* did not exist when the *Guruvaṁśa-kāvya* was composed; or, that if they existed the authorities of the *maṭha* on the banks of the river Tuṅga were not aware of their existence when they directed the composition of the *Guruvamsa-kāvya.*

The tradition recorded in all the versions of Ānandagiri's *Śaṅkara-Vijaya* regarding the final resort of Śaṅkarācārya has not been followed by the author of the *Guruvamśa-kāvya* although he considers Ānandagiri to be the most renowned biographer of Śaṅkarācārya. The alteration in the *Guruvamsa-kāvya* that the place of final resort of Śaṅkarācārya's was Mahūripuri which is noted for its shrine of Dattātreya might have paved the way for Cidvilāsa to make a further alteration as regards the place of Śaṅkarācārya's last resort to a cave in Badari regarded as the abode of Dattātreya.

Thus for one reason or the other the place of Śaṅkarācārya's last resort was changed from place to place, namely, from Kāñcī to Mahūripuri and from there to Badarī and then to Kedārnāth. The latest alteration is to Kashmir found in a work on the life of Śaṅkarācārya in verse form in Sanskrit published under the auspices of the Dvāraka maṭha by one Śrīnivasa Ālaya of South Canara,

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in whose opinion alterations in the details of any hero's life are not wrong, provided they do not lower the dignity of the hero. Although he mentions Kashmir as the place of final resort of Śaṅkarācārya, he declares in the preface to his work that he follows the *Madhāviya-Śaṅkara-Vijaya*, which, on the other hand, mentions Kedārnāth as the place of final resort.

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar referring to Śaṅkarācārya's *siddhi-sthala* says: 'according to one set of traditions Kāñcī in the south of India is given as the place where the *ācārya* breathed his last. According to other sources, he died at Badrikāśrama disappearing in a cave in the Himalayas. The weight of probability belongs to the first view'.[1]

We may substantiate the above observation by referring to the letter dated 6—7—1958 from Śrī Sampūrṇānand, the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh to Dr. T. N. Ramachandran, Retired Joint Director of Archaeology, Government of India which is as follows: 'there is nothing new to prove that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya died at this spot (Kedārnāth). All that tradition says is that he came to Kedārnāth and in the modern phraseology disappeared thereafter. So what is called a *samādhi* is not a *samādhi* but a memorial.'

The letter of Svāmī Sahajānanda of Guruvāyūr written from Badrināth and published in 'The Hindu' dated 19—6—1959 is as follows: On enquiry from the Joshi Mutt they say that it is only a *saṅkalpa samādhi* and that the actual *samādhi* is not on the spot'.

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1. Gopal Basu Mallick Lectutes on *Vedānta Philosophy*, Poona, 1929, p. 240.

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The Late Mahāmahopādhyāya Padmavibhushan Gopināth Kavirāj in his *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti aur Sādhana* states:

> प्रसिद्ध है कि काञ्ची में कामाक्षी देवी के मन्दिर में
> जहां पर आचार्य शङ्करजी की पाषाणमयी मूर्ति है।
> उसी स्थान में उन्हें सिद्धि प्राप्त हुई थी॥

> 'The temple of Devī Kāmākṣī is famous at Kāñcī. In that temple there is a stone image of Śrī Śaṅkara; and it is there that Śrī Śaṅkara attained *siddhi*.

It would have become clear from the foregoing discussion that Śrī Śaṅkara spent his last days at Kāñcī and attained *siddhi* there.

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INSTITUTIONS ESTABLISHED BY ŚRĪ ŚAṄKARA

In order to preserve and propagate the tradition of Advaita for the benefit of posterity, Śrī Śaṅkara established several monastic Institutions all over India. The details regarding the establishment of these institutions are found in the biographies of Śrī Śaṅkara and also in the texts known as *maṭhāmnāyà*-s, the authorship of which has been attributed by some to Śrī Śaṇkara himself. But these works are at variance with one another.

The Śaṅkaravijaya attributed to Mādhava simply states that Śrī Śaṅkara appointed some of his disciples in charge of the *āśrama*-s like the one at Śṛṅgeri, etc.

कतिचन निवेश्याथ ऋष्यश्रृङ्गाश्रमादौ

katicana niveśyātha ṛṣyaśṛṅgāśramādau

The word *āśrama* in the expression *ṛṣyaśṛṅgāśramādau* must be taken in the sense of a *maṭha* or institution.

The concluding verse of the 16th Chapter of the 9th *aṁśa* of the *Śivarahasya* refers to Śrī Śaṅkara's *āśram* at Kāñcī.

तद्योगभोगवरमुक्ति सुमोक्षयोग -
लिङ्गार्चनात् प्राप्तजयस्वकाश्रयम् ।
तान्वै विजित्य तरसाक्षतशास्त्रवादैः
मिश्रान् स काञ्च्यामथ सिद्धिमाप ॥

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1. *Śrīmacchankaradigvijaya*, 15.93.

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tadyogabhogavaramukti sumokṣayoga-
liṅgārcanāt prāptajyasvakāśrayam
tān vai vijitya tarasākṣataśāstravādaiḥ
miśrān sa kāñcyām atha siddhimāpa

The *Cid-vilāsīya-Śaṅkara-vijaya* describes in a whole chapter the event of Śrī Śaṅkara's ascension to the Sarvajñapīṭha at Kāñcī.

The *Guruvaṁśakāvya* states that Śrī Śaṅkara founded five *maṭha*-s at Vāraṇāsī — four for his disciples and one for himself and stayed there for a few days.

वारणासीं योगिवरोऽधिगम्य
भुजैरिव श्रीहरिरेष शिष्यैः ।
महात्मना पञ्च मठानमीषां
प्रकल्प्य तस्थौ कतिचिद्दिनानि ॥

vārāṇasīṁ yogivaro'dhigamya
bhujairiva śrīharireṣa śiṣyaiḥ
sahātmanā pañca maṭhānamīṣām
prakalpya tasthau katicciddināni (3-23)

Now the question arises as to why Śrī Śaṅkara should have established five mutts at Vārāṇasī just for a stay of a few days. This may be answered by saying that the word *prakalpya* in the verse must be taken in the sense of 'having made a resolve' and not in the sense of 'having established'. It comes to this: Śrī Śaṅkara, on reaching Vāraṇasī, made a resolve to establish five mutts — four for his disciples and one for himself.

The above interpretation should not be considered as strange. While interpreting the following verse in the *Bhāgavata*, namely,

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स विस्मयोत्पुल्लविलोचनो हरिं
सुतं विलोक्य आनकदुन्दुभिः तदा ।
कृष्णावतारोत्सवसम्भ्रमोऽस्पृशत्
मुदो द्विजेभ्यः अयुतमाप्लुतो गवाम् ॥

sa vismayotpullavilocano harim
sutam vilokya ānakadundnbhiḥ tadā
kṛṣṇāvatārotsavasaṁbhramo'spṛśat
mudo dvijebhyaḥ ayutam āpluto gavām

Śridharasvāmin, Jīvagosvāmin, Vijayadvajatīrtha, Vallabhācārya Śukadeva, Viśvanāthacakravarti and Vīrarāghavācārya state that Vasudeva who was inside the prison at the time of the birth of Lord Kṛṣṇa could not have offered cows by way of gift to Brahmins, and so the verse state this much, namely, that Śrī Vasudeva *made a resolve* to offer cows to Brahmins at a later date. Thus, according to the verse in the *Guruvaṁśa-kāvya* too cited above Śrī Śaṅkara has decided to establish five mutts for the preservation and the propagation of the Advaitic thought.

In a Note on the manuscript of *Guruvaṁśakāvya* under the title — *the Śṛṅgeri Maṭh and its Guru-s* in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department*, Mysore for the year 1928, a brief summary of the contents and a review of the *Guruvaṁśakāvya* are given. It is stated therein: "Sacchidānanda Bhāratī (1705-1741 A.D) disciple of Nṛsiṁha Bhāratī adorned the pontifical seat at Śṛṅgeri. Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī — the author seems to have been a very good Sanskrit scholar and as he composed the work under the orders of Saccidānanda Bhāratī, it may be reasonably presumed that he faithfully copied all available traditional information about the successive teachers of Śṛṅgeri.[1] It

1. pp. 15-20.

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is further stated in the Report that Śrī Śaṅkara set up five *maṭha-s* including Śṛṅgeri and Kāñcī.[1]

From the above it follows that the manuscript copy of the *Guruvaṁśakāvya* contains reference to the Kāñcī mutt besides the mutt at Śṛṅgeri. The printed editions of the text, however, surprisingly make mention of only four mutts — Śṛṅgeri, Dvārakā, Badarī and Purī. This is in direct conflict with the verse cited above according to which Śrī Śaṅkara made a resolve to establish five mutts — four for his disciples and one for himself.

The Light of The East — a periodical published from Calcutta in its article on *The Life of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya* while referring to the several mutts established by Śrī Śaṅkara when he toured all over India states that Śrī Śaṅkara founded a mutt at Gangotri on the slopes of the Himalayas besides the Joshi Mutt.[2]

(3) The Late Dr C. P. Ramaswami Iyer in his brochure — *World Religions — A Study in Synthesis* observes that Śrī Saṅkara established mutts or centres of religious learning and practices in the North, South, East and West of India and that Śrīnagar, Dvārakā, Purī, Śṛṅgerī and Kāñcī were his far-flung spiritual capitals.

(4) The Late Dr T.M.P. Mahadevan has stated: "He (Śrī Śaṅkara) set up at cardinal points of the country monastic institutions which would safeguard the spiritual interests of the race. Of these institutions five are the most important. Except the one at Badarī in the Himalayas, the

1. p. 16.
2. *Light of The East*, Vol. 11, No. 11, 1894.

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other four were in the peninsular part of India at Purī, Dvārakā, Śṛṅgeri and Kāñcī.[1]

It emerges from the above discussion that some of the biographies of Śrī Śaṅkara are not specific in regard to the number of *maṭha*-s founded by Śrī Śaṅkara. The manuscript of the *Guruvaṁśakāvya* according to the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department* of Mysore contains reference to Śrī Śaṅkara establishing five *maṭha*-s including those at Śṛṅgeri and Kāñcī. The printed edition of the text, however, refers to four *maṭha*-s at Purī, Dvārakā, Śṛṅgerī and Badarī. Modern scholars and historians hold the view that Śrī Śaṅkara established five *maṭha*-s.

The *Tīrthāṇka* of the Magazine Kalyān mentions five principal Institutions as founded by Śrī Śaṅkara.[2]

Modern scholars have held the view that Śrī Śaṅkara established five *maṭha*-s.

(1) The Late Śrī S. S. Sūryanārāyaṇa Śāstri in his work Śrī Śaṅkāracārya says that Śrī Śaṅkara established several mutts, the most notable of which are perhaps those of the *Śāradāpīṭha* and the *Kāmakoṭipīṭha*.[3]

(ii) The Late Prof K.A. Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstrī in his work *A History of South India* states that Śrī Śaṅkara founded a number of *maṭha*-s in different parts of India, the best known being those at Śṛṅgerī, Dvārakā, Badarināth, Purī and Kāñcī.[4]

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1. Broadcast Talk printed in the Book *Contribution of the South to the Heritage of India* (p. 10), Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, 1961.

2. *Tīrthāṅka*, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, 1957, p. 547.

3. Śrī Śankarācārya, G.A. Natesan & Co, Madras, p. 2.

4. A History of South India, Oxford University Press, Madras, 1955.

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There are other texts known as *Maṭhāmnāyas*, which deal with specific details in regard to the *maṭha*-s of Śrī Śaṅkara. The printed editions and manuscript copies of these texts are available. And, the authorship of these texts is attributed to Śrī Śaṅkara by some.

The authenticity of the material in the *maṭhamnāya* texts and their authorship are highly doubtful. It appears that they have been written several centuries after Śrī Śaṅkara to suit the interest of the particular institutions. In the Memorial Edition of Śrī Śaṅkara's works entitled *Śāṅkara-granthāvalī* printed at the Vāṇi Vilās Press, Śrīrangam under the personal direction of the then *ācārya* of the *Śṛṅgeri-maṭha* and published to commemorate the consecration of the idol of Śrī Śaṅkara at Kāladi in 1910 A.D., the *maṭhāmnāya* text has not been included. This clearly shows that the authorities of the *Śṛṅgeri-maṭha* then did not consider the *maṭhāmnāya* text to be the work of Śrī Śaṅkara. If they had considered it to be so, then they would have included it in the Memorial Edition of the works of Śrī Śaṅkara.

Further some of the *maṭhāmnāya* texts contain certain verses in praise of Śrī Śaṅkara himself. This also shows that Śrī Saṅkara is not the author of these texts

Prof William Cenkner in his work — *A Tradition of Teachers: Śaṅkara and the Jagadgurus Today* observes: "The ancient texts dealing with the institutions called *Maṭhāmnāya* date from the post-Śaṅkara period; they are inconclusive and are challenged by some modern historians as gratuitous".[1]

In the year 1904, there arose a litigation between Śrī Mādhavatīrtha (then Śaṅkarācārya of the Dvārakāpīṭha)

1. Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1983, p. 109.

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and Śrī Madhusūdhan Parvat (then Śaṅkarācārya of the Jyotirmaṭha). The latter was sued by the former in the court of the First Class Subordinate Judge of Ahmedabad.[1] The plaintiff's case is briefly as follows:

> "The plaintiff, the Sankaracharya of the Sharada Math at Dwāraka, sued for a declaration that the defendant was not entitled to the style, title and dignities of a Shankaracharya and that he was not entitled to call for or receive any offerings from the people of Ahmedabad or other places in Gujarat either in his assumed capacity of a Shankaracharya or of a Shankaracharya of the Jyotirmath or of a branch of that Math; and for an injunction restraining the defendant from styling himself as a Shankaracharya in Gujarat or from claiming or receiving offerings in Gujarat as a Shankaracharya or as a Shankaracharya of the Jyotir math or of a branch of that math".

The Subordinate judge decided the case in favour of the plaintiff. Thereupon, the Śaṅkarācārya of the Jyotirmath filed an appeal in the High Court of Bombay.[2] The Hon. Mr Basil Scott, Chief Justice and Mr Justice Batchelor of Bombay High Court in their judgement dated 11th November 1908, have observed:

> "Mathamnaya, on which the plaintiff (in the lower court) relies, is not a work of Shankar..... Mathamnayas contain traditional ideals and could not have come down from Shankar..... There is no authoritative version of the Mathamnaya and witnesses for the defendant have produced other versions of it which

1. Civil Suit No. 640 of 1904.
2. First Appeal No. 45 of 1907.

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differ in material particulars from those relied upon by the plaintiff."[1]

Moreover, the particulars given in the *maṭhāmnāya* texts available in the Śāṅkarite Institutions are not uniform. The texts at the Institutions at Dvārakā, Purī and Badarī agree at least in certain details, while the *āmnāya* text printed and published by the Vāṇi Vilās Press, Śrīrangam differs vastly from them.

For instance, the texts available at the *maṭha*-s at Dvārakā, Badarī and Purī speak of the *kṣetra*, the *śakti* and the *devatā* of the institution of the South as Rāmeśvaram, Kāmākṣī and Ādi Varāha respectively. But the Vāṇi Vilās edition of the text refers to these as Rāmakṣetra, Śāradā and Varāha. Further Pṛthvīdhara is mentioned as the first preceptor at the Śāṅkarite Institution for the southern region in most of the *āmnāya* texts, while Sureśvara is mentioned to be so in the Vāṇi Vilās edition of the text. In the list of *ācārya*-s of the Tuṅgabhadrā region contained in the *Guruparamparāstotra* published in full by Dr Hultzch in his report on *The Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in South India* and also in the *Jagadgurupāramparyastuti* relating to the Kūḍali *Śṛṅgeri-maṭha*, Pṛthvīdhara is mentioned as the first preceptor.

विश्वरूपयतिं स्थाप्य स्वाश्रमस्य प्रचारणे ।
स्वयं काञ्चीमगात् तूर्णं श्रीपृथ्वीधरभारती ॥

viśvarūpayatim sthāpya svāśramasya pracāraṇe
svayam kāñcim agat tūrṇam śri pṛthvīdharabhāratī

(*Guruparamparāstotra*)

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1. *Bombay Law Reporter*, Vol. XI, 1908, pp. 62, 66.

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पृथ्वीधरयतिः पीठे ब्रह्मविद्याप्रचारणे ।
विश्वरूपं प्रतिष्ठाप्य काञ्च्यां ब्रह्मत्वमाप्तवान् ॥

pṛthvīdharayatiḥ pīṭhe brahmavidyāpracāraṇe
viśvarūpaṁ pratiśṭhāpya kāñcyām brahmatvamāptavān
(*Jagadgurupāraṁparyastuti*)

Again, the ascetic orders of Purī, Bhāratī and Sarasvatī alone are mentioned in the case of the *ācārya*-s of the Śāṅkarite institution in south in the *maṭhāmnāya* texts excepting the one published by the Vāṇi Vilās Press which, however, assigns all the ten ascetic orders in respect of them. But the list of the *ācārya*-s of the Śṛṅgeri-*maṭha* published at the end of the later text belies this position in as much as about 23 perceptors of 37 upto the present head of that *maṭha* belong to the *Bhāratī*-order alone. It may be added here that in the *śrīmukham*-s issued by the heads of the institution till thirty years from now, there is no mention of that institution as belonging to the southern region (*dakṣiṇāmnāya*).

It follows from the above that the *maṭhāmnāya* texts are inconsistent and hence not authoritative. They must have been written after the period of Vidyāraṇya chiefly with a view to enhance the status of the institutions concerned. That there are *āmnāya* texts for the institutions like the *Puṣpagirimaṭha* testifies to what has been said now.

It is usually said that Śrī Śaṅkara established four mutts at four *dhām*-s or four corners of India. As regards this Śrī Mahādeva Rājārām Bodas of Bombay in his work *Śrī Śaṅkarācārya Va Tyānca Sampradāya* in Marathi observes:[1]

1. Printed in Jagathitecchu Press, Poona, 1923, p. 39.

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चार दिशां ना व चार मुख्य धामां चे ठिकाणीं चार मठ स्थापन केले, उसें म्हाणावे तर आद्य श्रृङ्गेरी किं वा काञ्ची मठ तसे नहींत । ते भारतभूमींत मध्यवर्ती आहेत । दक्षिणमठ रामेश्वर किं वा कन्याकुमारी येथें पाहिजे होता ।

cār diśām nā vacār mukhya dhāmāṁ ce ṭikāṇīṁ cār maṭh sthāpan kele, aseṁ mhaṇāveṁ tar ādya śṛṅgeri kiṁvā kāñcīmaṭha tase nahīnta, te bhāratabhūmīṁta madhyavartī āheta, dakśiṇamaṭh rāmeśvara kiṁ vā kanyākumārī yetheṁ pāhije hotā

Very freely translated it would come to this: "We can say that four mutts were established at four *dhām*-s; but we see that neither the institution at Śṛṅgerī nor the one at Kāñcī is at a *dhām* (corner). They are in the centre of the country. The institution should have been either at Rāmeśvaram or at Kanyākumāri."

The problem put forward by Mr Bodas is a very legitimate one and it merits careful consideration. Even the unreliable and post-Śaṅkara *Maṭhāmnāya* texts uniformly refer to the *kṣetra*-s of the *maṭha*-s in the four corners (*Cārdhām*-s), as Dvārakā in the West, Badarī in the North, Purī (Jagannāth) in the East, and Rāmeśvaram in the South. From this we can conclude that Śrī Śaṅkara had in his mind the idea of establishing *Maṭha-s* in the above-mentioned four corners generally known as *cār-dhams*. But we now have two popular Śāṅkarite institutions in the South — one in the North-west of Southern India and the other still further South in Kāñcī. The *pīṭha-śakti* of the former is Śāradā according to the *maṭhamnāya* version of the Vāṇi Vilās Press, Śrīrangam, while that of the latter is Kāmākṣī, that is, Kāmakoṭī.[1]

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1. The aspect of Śāradā is quite different from Kāmākṣī. In the *Lalitā-sahasranāma* the two names of Kāmākṣī (23) and

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In all the *maṭhas* in the Ceded districts and in Mysore bearing the names of Śṛingerī like the Virūpākṣa-Śṛṅgerī, the Puṣpagiri-Śṛṅgerī, the Āvani-Śṛṅgerī, the Sivagaṅgā-Śṛṅgerī, and the Karavirmutt Śṛṅgerī in the Maharashtra region, the preamble to *śrīmukha* include the epithet *Tuṅga-bhadrā-tīravāsī* — one who dwells on the banks of the river Tuṅgabhadrā.

The institution at Śṛṅgerī though actually on the banks of the Tuṅgā also has the appellation *Tuṅgabhadrā-tīra-vāsī*. It has to be examined as to why (i) there are two *maṭhas* in the Southern region of India — one in the North-western portion and another still further South at Kāñcī, and, (ii) there are two institutions bearing the name of Śṛṅgeri in the North-Western portion itself-one on the banks of the river Tuṅgā and the other on the confluence of Tuṅgā and Bhadrā.

Enquiries made from the people of Mysore revealed the existence of a tradition that Śrī Śāradā (Sarasavāṇī) after the defeat of Maṇḍanamiśra decided to ascend to Brahmaloka when Śrī Śaṅkara bound her by *Vanadurgā-mantra* and besought her to follow him till he installed her *śakti* in this *loka* itself for bestowing her grace on aspirants for knowledge. She agreed to follow him on the condition that he did not look back while she was following him. While they were crossing the confluence of the Tuṅgā and the Bhadrā the sounds of Śrī Śārada's anklets were not heard by Śrī Śaṅkara as her feet were imbedded in the sands at the confluence of Tuṅga-Bhadrā. Not hearing

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Kāmakoṭikā (118) appear as synonyms of Lalitā. But Śāradā is referred to in the *Sahasranāma* as worshipping Lalitā equated with Kāmākṣī or Kāmakoṭī. In the *Lalitā-triśatī*, Śāradā is described as waving *cāmara* for Lalitā.

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the sound of anklets, Śrī Śaṅkara looked back. Śrī Śāradā then reminded him of his promise not to look back and said that she would remain there itself. Śrī Śaṅkara therefore installed Śrī Śāradā's divine presence there itself consecrating Her in a temple. He arranged for an institution there and appointed one of his disciples for her worship. This accounts for the springing up of an additional but accidental Śāṅkarite institution in North-West portion of Karnāṭaka and for the inclusion of the epithet *Tuṅgabhadrā-tīravāsī* in the preambles to the *Śrīmukha* of that institution and all its sub-divisions. This tradition is recorded by Sri B. Surya Narain Rao, M.R.A.S. in his brochure *The History of Śivaganga Mutt.*[1] This tradition furnishes an explanation for a *maṭha* in the Karnaṭaka-Maharashtra border for the *pūjā* of Śāradā-Devī deviating from the principle of establishing mutts at four corners or four *dhāms.*

Thus an accidental event led to the establishment of an institution on the confluence of the rivers — Tuṅgā and Bhadrā with Śāradā as the *śakti.* All the *Maṭhāmnāya* texts except the text of the Vani Vilas Press already referred to — though unreliable enumerate only four *śaktis,* namely, Bhadrakālī, Pūrṇagiri, Vimalā, and Kāmākṣī. An institution for a region requires three main factors: a *śakti,* a *devatā,* and a *kṣetra.* Pūrṇagiri as the *śakti,* Badrināth as the *devatā,* and Badari as the *kṣetra* constitute the institution of the northern region (*uttarāmnāya*); Vimalā as the *śakti,* Jagannātha as the *devatā,* and Purī as the *kṣetra* constitute the institution of the eastern region (*pūrvāmnāya*); Bhadrakālī as the *śakti,* Siddheśvara as the *devatā,* and Dvāraka as the *kṣetra* constitute the institution of the Western region (*paścimāmnāya*). We have earlier said that the *kṣetra* of the institution for the southern region is Rāmeśvaram and *śakti* is Goddess Kāmākṣī. This we know from all the *Maṭhāmnāya* texts excepting the text of Vani Vilas Press. All these

1. Suryanarain Rao, B: *The History of Śivagaṅgā Mutt,* Pub. by B.L. Narain, Thumby & Co, Bangalore, 1914. See Chapter VII — *Origin of the Śivagaṅgā Mutt.*

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texts refer to the *devatā* of the institution for the southern region as Ādivarāha, popularly known as kaḷvar. This figure we find in a niche of Śrī Kāmakṣī temple outside the southern wall of the sanctum.[1] Śaṅkarācārya thus established the *maṭha* for the southern region by linking Rāmeśvaram situated in the extreme south with Kāñcī which is the *mokṣapurī*, and which is the seat of both Kāmākṣī and Ādivarāha-the *śakti* and the *devatā* of the institution for the southern region. It is only thus we can meet the problem posed by Śrī Mahādeva Rajaram Bodas.

Vidyāraṇya, the greatest expounder of the Vedic tradition and the Advaita philosophy has been credited with the establishment of Advaita institutions in the Karnāṭaka region. All these institutions have the honorific epithets *Tuṅgabhadrātīravāsī* and *Karnāṭaka — siṁhāsana — pratiṣṭhāpanācārya* in the preamble of the epistles (*Śrīmukha-s*) issued by them. The epithet '*Karnāṭaka-siṁhāsana-pratiṣṭhāpanācārya* pertains to Vidyāraṇya, the reputed founder of the kingdom of Vijayanagar. Besides the official seals used by these institutions the name 'Vidya-Śaṅkara' is embossed. Vidyātīrtha and Vidyā-Śaṅkara are the names of the great ascetic whom Vidyāraṇya adores in the beginning and end in all of his great works.

According to the *Puṣpagiri-Maṭhāmnāya-stotra* quoted in the *Śaṅkaramaṭhatattva-prakāśikā-saṅgraha* published about a century ago, by the Telugu poet, Kokkundram Venkataratnam Pantulu, Vidyāraṇya came from Kāñcī to Virūpākṣa (Hampi) and wrought many miracles. He established a *maṭha* at Virūpākṣa and placed one of his two ascetic disciples, Nṛsiṁha Bhāratī in this *maṭha* and the other disciple, Candraśekhara Bhāratī in charge of the Śṛngerī-*maṭha*. The work also speaks of Vidyāraṇya's return to Kāñcī with all pomp and splendour after the

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1. See *Tīrthāṅka* — Annual No. of *Kalyan* for the year 1957, p. 92.

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completion of his mission. Further it is stated therein that he reached Kailāsa from Kāñcī. The relevant verses from the *Puṣpagiri-Maṭhāmnya-stotra* are quoted below:

ततः परं गजाद्रीन्दुरूपके शकवत्सरे।
विद्यारण्यगुरुः काञ्चीनगर्यां स बभौ महान् ॥
.....
पम्पाक्षेत्रे वसन् मौनी भक्तरक्षणतत्परः ।
मूकं वाचालमकरोत् मूढं पण्डितमुत्तमम् ॥
.....
तस्य शिष्यौ महाप्राज्ञौ चन्द्रशेखरभारती।
नृसिंहभारती चैव द्वाविमौ लोकपूजितौ ॥
तुङ्गशृङ्गगिरौ पीठे चन्द्रशेखरभारतीम् ।
विनिवेश्य ततः सर्वं विद्यारण्यगुरुः स्वयम् ।
पुण्यक्षेत्रे विरूपाक्षे मठमेकं मनोहरम् ।
प्रकल्प्य तत्र सच्छिष्यं नरसिंहेन्द्रभारतीम् ।
निवासयामास ततः शुभकृद्वत्सरोत्तमे ।
वैशाखाकृष्णपक्षस्य तृतीयायां विधोर्दिने।
.....
विसृज्य काञ्चीनगरं सहैश्वर्यं सवाहनम् ।
विद्यारण्यगुरुः स्वामी कैलासालयमाविशत् ॥

tataḥ paraṁ gajādrīndurūpake śakavatsare
vidyāraṇyaguruḥ kāñcīnagaryāṁ sa babhau mahān
.....
pampākṣetre vasan maunī bhaktarakṣaṇatatparaḥ
mūkam vācālamakarot mūḍham paṇḍitamuttamam
.....
tasya śiṣyau mahāprājñau candraśekharabhāratī
nṛsiṁhabhāratī caiva dvāvimau lokapūjitau
tuṅgaśṛṅgagirau pīṭhe candraśekharabhāratīm
viniveśya tatassarvaṁ vidyāraṇyaguruḥ svayam
puṇyakṣetre virūpākṣe maṭhamekam manoharam
prakalpya tatra sacchiṣyaṁ narasiṁhendrabhāratīm
nivāsayāmāsa tataḥ śubhakṛtvatsarottame
vaiśākhakṛṣṇapakṣasya tṛtīyāyāṁ vidhordine
.....
visṛjya kāñcīnagaram sahaiśvaryam savāhanam
vidyāraṇyagurusvāmī akailāsālayam āviśat

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From the verses quoted above it would have become clear that Vidyāraṇya must have spent some years at the peaceful spot of Śṛṅgeri on the Tuṅgā after accomplishing his famous task of founding the kingdom of Vijayanagara and after establishing the institution at Virūpākṣa. All these facts are corroborated by contemporary literary and epigraphic evidences. Evidently Vidyatīrtha (Vidyāśaṅkara), Śaṅkarānanda and Vidyāraṇya must have stayed together at Śṛṅgeri for over a period of many years. These circumstances must have led to the prominence of the institution at Śṛṅgeri. It may be also possible that the institution founded by Śaṅkara at the confluence of the Tuṅgā and Bhadrā was imparted fresh vitality by the presence of Vidyāraṇya at Śṛṅgeri. It is clear that Śṛṅgeri formely a peaceful place abounding in the hermitages of ascetics became the headquarters of an affluent and renowned Advaitic institution because of Vidyāraṇya.

SCULPTURAL EVIDENCES

Śrī Śaṅkara's life has been closely associated with Kāñcī; Kāñcī and its environs are replete with the reminiscences of Śaṅkara's life and mission. The temples of all denominations in Kāñcī abound in sculptures representing a *sannyāsin* with *eka-daṇḍa* many of which could easily be identified as those of Śrī Śaṅkara.[1]

To begin with: there is a life-size stone image of Śrī Śaṅkara installed in a shrine in close proximity to the sanctum-sanctorum of Śrī Kāmākṣī. The bronze *utsava-mūrti* of Śrī Śaṅkara which is in this shrine is taken every year on the *Vyāsa-pūjā* day to *Mukti-maṇḍapa* on the banks of the *Sarvatīrtha* and is offered worship there.

In the *maṇḍapa* with one hundred and eight pillars at Śrī Varadarājasvāmi temple there is a sculptured panel in which are depicted a *brāhmaṇa paṇḍita* with *Śikhā* and

1. See Appendix.

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yajñopavīta in an argumentative mood, and a young *sannyāsin* with *ekadaṇḍa* in front of him, with radiating calmness. This panel illustrates the meeting between Vyāsa in disguise and Śaṅkara at which the former challenged, in order to test, Śaṅkara's interpretation of the *Brahma-sūtra*. There is another sculpture in the same temple on a pillar in the *maṇḍapa* to the north of the shrine of the *Tāyār* (Lakṣmī) which shows an elderly sage, with *jaṭā*, *rudrākṣa*, and *yajñopavīta*, in a sitting posture, and with one finger of the right hand raised, and an *ekadaṇḍa-sannyāsin* standing nearby, offering obeisance. This sculpture evidently is the complement to the previous one; it represents Śaṅkara worshipping Vyāsa after the latter's identity had been disclosed.

Scultpures of an *ekadaṇḍi-advaiti-sannyāsin*, evidently Śrī Śaṅkara, are found in some of the temples, under the control of the followers of Rāmānuja, in and around Kāñcī.

In the Varadarāja temple itself there are some more sculptures of an *ekadaṇḍi-advaita-smārta-sannyāsin*, one in the four-pillared *Vasantamaṇḍapam* to the right of the *amṛta-saras*, representing a standing *sannyāsin* with a *daṇḍa* and *kamaṇḍalu* by his side, and the other outside the eastern wall of the second *prākāra* of the temple featuring an *ekaḍaṇḍa-sannyāsin* without *śikhā*.

There is another sculpture in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple representing a *sannyāsin* without *śikhā*, with *ekadaṇḍa* and *kamaṇḍalu* and a *pustaka* by his side and with a *cāmara* on either side of his hand, standing on one foot and performing *tapas*, with his left hand on the top of his head.

There is a sculpture featuring an *ekadaṇḍa-advaiti-sannyāsin* without *śikhā* and *yajñopavīta* in the big Viṣṇu temple in Śevilimeḍu (Śivaliṅga-meḍu) at the southern outskirts of Kāñcī. There are similar sculptures in some of the Śiva temples also of the place, as for example, the Puṇyakoṭīśvara temple, Kumarakoṣṭham, Kaccapeśvara temple, and many in Ekāmreśvara temple.

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The Sculptors in and around Kāñcī were so familiar with and so much devoted to Śrī Śaṅkara that they sculptured his figure in all the prominent temples in the city without regard to the deity to which they were dedicated or the sect to which the temple belonged in the later times. Not only this. It seems that Śrī Śaṅkara or his successors had something to do with the management of the Varadarāja temple. This could be seen from Vol. III (pages 340-341) of the *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts* relating to Mackenzie's collection, where William Taylor gives a brief summary of a copper-plate inscription in Viṣṇu-Kāñcī in which the name of Śaṅkarācārya appears among others as one who had something to do with the temple before the line of Tātācarya took charge. Śrī Śaṅkara and his successors having been connected with the temple, it is but natural that sculptural figures of him are seen in the temple.

There is an inscription in the Varadarāja temple relaing to a Mutt, called *Veda-maṭha* situated in the temple, the head of which is named as Vedendra-Sāgara (No. 350. South Indian Temple Inscriptions — Vol. I, Madras Government Oriental Series, No. C. IV). The appellation of *Sāgara* is one of the ten appellations used by *Daśanāmi-sānnyāsins* of the Advaita-saṁpradāya:[1]

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1. It may be added here that there are evidences which go to show the existence in Kāñcī of the *Sannyāsins* of two more order of *tīrtha* and *bhāratī* apart from *sarasvati* and *sāgara*.

In the walls of the Śiva temple at Ambil village, there is an inscription in Tamil wherein the Ambil village is referred to as *maḍappuram*, that is, offered to *Sannyasins*. This inscription records the institution of an annual worship for the merits of Kṛṣṇa Devarāya by Candraśekhara Sarasvatī.

In another village (8) miles north to Kāñcī) Govindavāḍi, a *Dakṣiṇāmūrtikṣetra* there are two sculpt-

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तीर्थाश्रमवनारण्यगिरिपर्वतसागराः।
सरस्वती भारती च पुरी नामानि वै दश॥ [1]

tīrthāśramavanāraṇyagiriparvatasāgarāḥ
sarasvatī bhāratī ca purī nāmāni vai daśa

There is a temple at Kāñcī called *Vyāsa-Śrāntāśraya.* On the super-structure of the main shrine of this temple there are two stucco figures. One represents Vyāsa with his two arms raised, signifying Vyāsa saying with uplifted arms before Śrī Viśveśvara at Kāśi that there is no God higher than Keśava.

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ures of *Advaita-ekadaṇḍa-sannyāsins*, one enshrined in the wall in the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-sannidhi* and the other prostrating with *daṇḍa* towards Dakṣiṇāmūrti.

There is an inscription referring to this sculpture as *Advaita sannyasin* of the *tīrtha* order.

Of the many sculptures of *Advaita-sannyāsins* in the Kāmākṣi temple, one sculpture is referred to in the inscription under it as a *sannyāsin* of the *bhāratī* order. There is nothing strange in it. As pointed out earlier, in the *Guruparamparā* of the *bhārati* order of *sannyāsins*, recorded in the *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India* it is said: Śaṇkara installed Kāmākṣī at Kāñcī and attained siddhi there; and on hearing about it Pṛthvīdharabhāratī-the preceptor of the institution of Bhāratī order on the banks of Tuṅgabhadrā reached Kāñcī. The Guruparamparā of the Kūḍali Maṭha also says the same thing with a very slight modification in phraseology. The disciples of Pṛthvidhara-Bhāratī might have stayed on at Kanci and thus we come to have a sculpture of a *sannyāsin* of the *bhārati* order.

1. Viśveśvara Sarasvatī: *Yatidharmasaṅgraha*, Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, 1909, P.103.

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सत्यं सत्यं पुनस्सत्यं उद्धृत्य भुजमुच्यते ।
वेदात् शास्त्रं परं नास्ति न दैवं केशवात् परम् ॥

satyaṁ satyaṁ punassatyaṁ uddhṛtya bhujāmucyate
vedāt śāstram paraṁ nāsti nadaivam keśavāt pāram.

And the other represents Vyāsa sitting in the *dhyāna*-posture. According to the *Kāñcī-māhātmya*, Nandikeśvara cursed Vyāsa for saying so and as a result of the curse Vyāsa was unable to move his uplifted arms. He then proceeded to Kāñcī, installed a Śivaliṅga there in a spot called *Vyāsa Śrāntaśraya*, that is, the place resorted to by the afflicted (*śrānta*) Vyāsa, and worshipped it[1]

One of the stucco images of the Vyāsa-Śrāntāśraya temple mentioned above is similar to the sculpture in the Varadarājāsvāmi temple. From this also we may infer that the sitting sculpture in the Varadarāja temple has been the model for other Vyāsa images. In the images occurring in both Varadarāja temple and the Vyāsa-Śrāntāśraya temple, there is a resemblance in the facial expression and the *jaṭā-baddha-kalāpa*. But the image of Vyāsa with uplifted arms on the super-structure represents Vyāsa in an afflicted mood, whereas the other image represents him in a happier mood, his affliction having been removed by his worshipping the Śivaliṅga at Kāñcī-kṣetra.

In the Ekāmreśvara temple there is an image of a *sannyāsin* with a *daṇḍa*, with the sacred strands alone, the cloth after a dip in water being in the process of drying up. In no *kṣetra* other than Kāñcī can one find as many images of *Advaita-sannyāsins*.

In the Iravāttaneśvarar temple at Kāñcī which belongs to the Pallava period we find in a niche in the wall the image of Śrī Vyāsa by the side of Dakṣiṇāmūrti. To the left of that image is an *ekadaṇḍa-sannyāsin*, a boy

1. *Kāñcī-Māhātmya, X.*

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of sixteen with *daṇḍa* in his hand and with just a few sprouts of hair on the head and with no beard on his chin as he is young. This could easily be identified as the figure of Śrī Śaṅkara in his teens seated near Vyāsa. This sculpture has been discovered by the late Sri C. Sivaramamurti, Director, National Museum, New Delhi.

To sum up: according to the *Śaṇkarābhyudaya* of Śrī Rājacūḍāmaṇidīkṣita referred to earlier, Śrī Śaṅkara spent his last days at Kāñcī worshipping Goddess Kāmākṣī every day and attained *siddhi* there. This is the main reason for the presence, in an abundant measure, of the sculptural images of an *eka-daṇḍa-sannyāsin* in and around Kāñcī.[1]

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1. In Śivāsthānam in the South Eastern border of Viṣṇu-Kāñcī-kṣetra, the *sanctum sanctorum* which is a *gaja pṛṣṭa-vimānam* has in its western wall a Somāskandamūrti and an *Advaita-sannyāsin* doing *daṇḍa-vandana* on the *garuḍāsana* as is usual when *sannyāsins* make *daṇḍa-vandana.* In this temple the idol of Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the southern wall of *garbhagṛha* is most prominent. The beaming countenance of the *mūrti* is unique and is not found anywhere else.

In the *Mādhavīya-Śaṅkara-vijaya* it is said that Śaṅkara reached Kāñcī and offered worship to Ekāmreśvara and then to Viśvanātha (who is on the banks of Sarvatīrtha). He then went to pay obeisance to Goddess Kāmākṣi who is in the form of *bilākṣśa* as if she desires to know the heart of Lord Śiva.

तत्र एकाम्राधीश्वरं विश्वनाथं नत्वा गम्यं स्वीयभाग्यातिशीत्या ।
देवीं धामान्तर्गतमन्तकारेर्हार्द्रं रुद्रस्येव जिज्ञास्यमानाम् ॥ 14-60

tatra ekāmrādhiśvaraṁ viśvanāthaṁ natvā gamyam
svīyabhāgyātiśityā
deviṁ dhāmāntargatamantakāre rhārdraṁ rudrasyeva
jijñāsamānām

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These images are identified by archeological experts as those of Śrī Śaṅkara. Further, since Śaṅkara stayed at Kāñcī during his last days, the ascetics belonging to the *tīrtha*, *sāgara*, *bhāratī* and *sarasvatī* orders have gathered together at Kāñcī in large numbers and this accounts for the sculptural representations of the ascetics of these particular orders in and around Kāñcī.

COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTIONS, STONE EPIGRAPHS AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY RECORDS

The earliest of the available copper-plate inscriptions of the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* is that of the Telugu Cola King, Vijaya Gaṇḍa Gopāla. This inscription purports to record the grant of the village of Ambikāpuram by Śrī Vijaya Gaṇḍa Gopāla to the *Śaṇkarārya Guru* of the *maṭha* situated to the west of Śrī Hastisailanātha for the purpose of feeding one hundred and eight brahmins every day. The details of the date of the grant are given as cyclic year *khara*, the

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Śrī Śaṇkara then offered worship to Kallāleśa who is nearby. The verse which states this is as follows:

कल्लालेशं द्राक्ततो नातिद्रे लक्ष्मीकान्तं संवसन्तं पुराणम् ।
कारुण्यार्द्रस्वान्तमन्तादिशून्यं दृष्ट्वा देवं सन्तुतोष एकभक्त्या ॥

kallāleśaṁ drāktato nātidūre lakṣmikāntaṁ samvasantaṁ purāṇam
kāruṇyārdrasvāntamantādiśūnyaṁ dṛṣṭvā devam santutoṣa ekabhaktyā

The commentators construe the word *kallāleśa* with Lakṣmikānta and interprets it to mean Lord Varadarāja. But the word *kallāleśa* does not mean either etymologically or conventionally Lord Varadarāja. A careful study of *Śivajñānabodham*, *Tēvāram*, and *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* would show that the word *kallāla* means a sturdy banyan tree.

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Sun being in *karkaṭaka-rāśi*, the *tithi* being *daśami* of *śukla-pakṣa*, *anurādha-nakṣatra* and the week day being Monday. This inscription has been edited by the late Dr Ramesan in the *Kalki Dīpāvalī Malar* for the year 1961. On the basis of the astronomical evidence given above, Dr Ramesan has shown that the data of the grant correspond to July 17, 1111 A.D. The boundaries of the village Ambikāpuram are given in the grant are Gṛdhrapura to the west, Kāñcīpura to the east, Kaidaḍuppūr to the south, and Śīrunanni to the north. The village is said to be situated to the north of the river Vegavatī. Tax-free lands in this village are still in the enjoyment of the donee. Ambikāpuram is known today as 'Ambi' and to its south is a village Kadirpūr which can be identified with Kaidaḍuppūr; to the north is a village Śiruṇai which can be identfied with the village Śīrunanni. This copper plate belongs to the first quarter of the 12th century AD.[1]

The above grant is referred to in another stone epigraph on one of the walls of the temple in Ambi. It is of the time of Śrī Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagar and executed by Śrī Candraśekhara Sarasvatī. This epigraph is of *Śaka* year 1436 (1514 A.D), in the cyclic year *bhava*, 13th *tithi* of *Āḍi* month. This epigraph too has been edited by Dr Ramesan. In this, the village of Ambi is referred to as *nammuḍaiya maḍappuram ambi*. The word *maḍappuram* refers to villages given as grants to *maṭha*-s only. Thus, this stone epigraph also gives collateral evidence that the village Ambi was granted in the 12th century A.D and had continued to be in the possession of the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* at that time as evidenced in one of the stone epigraphs in that village itself. It is pertinent to note that the *maṭha*

1. It may be noted here that from the records belonging to the Śṛṅgeri Jahir published by Mr L. Rice in his *Epigraphica Carnatica*, (Vol. VI, pp. 190, 206) it is known that the earliest available record found in the Śṛṅgeri-maṭha is dated 1346 AD.

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owns Inam lands in the village Ambi even now. This clearly shows the authenticity of the grant and the fact that the village has been in possession of the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* for more than eight hundred years ever since it was granted by Śrī Vijayagaṇḍa Gopāla in 1111 AD.[1]

In *Śaka* year 1429 (1507 A.D), Narasiṁhadeva, the elder brother of the famous Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara empire has granted the villages of Eliccūr and Veṇpakkam to Śrī Mahādeva Sarasvatī,[2] the disciple of Sadāśiva Sarasvatī. The above two villages are respectively located in the Śrīperumbudūr and the Kañcīpuram taluk.

Śrī Vīranarasiṁhadeva has granted to the same preceptor Śrī Mahādeva Sarasvatī another village *Kuṇḍiyāntaṇḍalam* in the Valakuru Śīmā of the Paḍaivīḍu Rājya.[3] A hamlet Śuruṭṭial which lies on the border of Kuṇḍiyāntaṇḍalam is referred to as *Śaṇkarācāryapuram* in an inscription in the Varadarājasvāmi temple at Kāñcīpuram.[4]

A Qutub Shāhi Muslim King, Tānā Shāh issued a grant of 115 varahana charged on the revenue of the Melupāka village in favour of His Holiness Śrī Śaṅkarācārya of the Śārada Mutt at Kāñcī for the maintenance of daily worship and offerings. This grant was issued on the first day of the month of Shavval of Hijri year 1088. This corresponds to November 17, 1677 AD.

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1. Vide Appendix.

2. Śrī Mahādeva Sarasvatī was the 54the Pontiff of the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha.*

3. For details regarding the two grants vide Appendix.

4. Vide *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1919-20, No.443 of 1919.

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This record is in Telugu letters and the inscription is in Sanskrit, Persian and Telugu Languages. A perusal of the other Firmans of the King Tānā Shāh available in the Central Record Office, Hyderabad, shows that this method of using local scripts and several languages were quite common with this King.[1] The fact that a Muslim King had made a grant to the *ācārya* of the *maṭha* at Kāñcī shows the high esteem in which the *maṭha* was held by even kings of the Muslim faith in those days.

Śrī Vijayaraṅga Cokkanātha, the Nāyak king of Madura, granted in the year 1708 A.D. cyclic year *Vikṛti* lands situated in a number of places such as Mahendramaṅgalam, Kṛṣṇāpuram, Gopālasvāmi Thoṭṭam, etc., on the banks of the river Akhaṇḍa Kāveri and Coleroon at the instance of Śaṅkarabhagavatpādācārya, the Svāmi who resides at Kāñcīpuram for the maintenance of the feeding of brahmins in his *maṭha* at the Gajāraṇyakṣetra. The donee is referred to as *lokaguru Śaṅkarācārya* in this grant.[2]

Coming now to the past 200 or 250 years, we have a wealth of details about the Maṭha and its history, preserved in the Moḍi records of the Madras Central Records office, the Sarasvati Mahal Library and the archives of the Maṭha itself. Tradition has it that during the Carnatic wars on account of disturbed conditions, the Maṭha was transferred from Kāñcīpuram to Thañjāvūr and then

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1. This inscription has been edited by Dr R. Subrahmanyam, Director of Archaeology, Bhopal, under the title — The Melupaka Firman of Abul Hasan Tana Sha, Sultan of Golconda: 1088 A.H. — The Liberty Press, Madras-1. For details of the grant See Appendix.

2. For details of the grant see Appendix. See also '*The Jambukeśvaram Grant of Vijayaraṅga Cokkanatha*' by Dr R. Subrahmanyam (Published in the brochure — The Melupaka Firman of Abdul Hasan Tana Sha, Sultan of Golconda: 1088 A.H.) The Liberty Press, Madras-1.

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later from Thañjāvūr to Kumbakonam. The Mackenzie Manuscripts throw light as regards the inscriptions relating to Śrī Kāmakoṭi Maṭha.

The portion relating to Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya of the Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha, Kumbakonam, is found on page cclxiii and cclxiv (263 & 264) of the second volume of Mackenzie's collection published by Wilson in 1828. It is extracted below:

Page CCLXIII: Report of Babu Rao, Maratta Translator to C. Mackenzie, of his journey to Pondicherri, Karaical etc., along the coast for the purpose of collecting historical information, coins, etc., from the 24th December, 1816 to 27th May, 1817.

April 8th and 9th, 1817: Proceeding by way of Nachargudi I arrived at Kumbakonam, collecting some coins thereof from the shroffs. 10th: I visited the chief priest of Śaṅkarāchāri, expending four rupees on fruit etc., to introduce myself, and requested him to give me a copy of the copper inscription he had in his Matham, but some of the Karyasthalu (or managers of the Matham) directly denied that there were any inscriptions on copper-plate, being afraid of losing their original documents which they had saved through many years from destruction of different wars. I encouraged them much assuring them that I would take no original but only wanted a copy; they answered that if I assured them only a copy was to be taken, and that I would give them a recommendation to my master regarding their discontinued Jagirs, and obtain their restoration of any of the discontinued villages, that he would give me a particular account of the Chola, Chera and Pandian-together with that of the the Rajas of Bijanagur as he was the Guru of all the Rajas. I accordingly gave them recommendatory letter. Then confiding in my assertions that I had only come to copy inscriptions, and collect historical information he was much pleased and promised to get me particular information of the Rajas that had ruled from

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the commencement of the Kali Yugam. He took me into his agraharam and showed me about 125 copper sasanams each contained in five or six copper plates, he gave a copy of two, presented me with a piece of cloth worth 5 rupees and gave me leave promising me to get me a particular account of the Chola Rajas together with several coins if I recommended him personally to my master at Madras, and got any assistance to recover their discontinued villages."

One of the records is 31/C Item 60 subsection 5 from the Moḍi records from the Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Thañjāvūr. There is a petition where a number of people had made a complaint to the then king of Thañjāvūr about the alleged misdeeds of some Kāryastha of the Maṭha. This interesting document belongs to the time of Śrī Mahādevendra Sarasvatī who ascended the Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha in the year 1851 during the time of the last king Śivāji of Thañjāvūr; and in this the petitioners in their introductory paragraphs give a brief but interesting account of the Maṭha. It is stated in the petition as follows:

> Raja Prataph Singh brought the Śaṅkarāchārya from Kāñcī and built a Mutt at Dabir Agraharam, granted Mohini lands, offered him his first honour and respect etc., etc.

This clearly show that the Maṭha was shifted from Kāñcipurm to Thañjāvūr during the time of the reign of Raja Pratāp Siṁha of Thañjāvūr. We have fortunately enough of original documentary evidence of the Thañjāvūr Marāṭha rulers themselves to substantiate the above.

There is an order issued by King Pratāp Siṁha of the Thañjāvūr Marāṭha Rulers preserved in the Madras Centra Record office as Record No. C-37-43 of the Thañjāvūr Palace Records. This is in Hemadipant Moḍi script. In this order the king had stipulated that the *sambhāvanā* to the *Āchārya* of the Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha should be

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paid at some uniform specified rates. The *Āchārya* is mentioned as:

श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचाय — श्रीमत्पूज्यशङ्करभगवत्पादाचार्याणां अधिष्ठाने सिंहासनेऽभिषिक्तानां श्रीचन्द्रशेखरसरस्वतीनां पूज्ययोः श्रीपादयोः

"Srīmad paramahaṁsa parivrājakāchārya srīmad pūjya saṅkara bhagavad pādāchāryāṇām adhishṭhāne siṁhāsane abhishiktānām Śrī Chandraśekhara Sarasvatīnām pūjyayoḥ Śrīpādayoḥ".

In describing the *Birudāvali* of the *Āchārya* the king used the following phrases:

श्रीमत्सकलभूमण्डलालङ्कारत्रयस्त्रिंशत्कोटिदेवतासेवितश्रीकामाक्षीदेवी-सनाथसाक्षात्कारपरमाधिष्ठानसत्यव्रतनामाङ्कितकाञ्चीदिव्यक्षेत्रे शारदामठस्थितानाम्.....

"śrīmad sakala bhūmaṇḍalālaṅkāra trayastriṁśatkoṭidevatā sevita śrī Kāmākshīdevīsanāta-sākshātkāra paramādhiṣṭhāna-satyavratanāmāṅkita, kāñcīdivyaketre sāradāmaṭha sthitānām", etc., etc.,

From the above, it will be very clearly seen that the *Birudāvalī* of the *Śrī-Kāñcī-Kāmākoṭi-Pīṭha* which is existing today was used in full in 1748 A.D. by King Pratāp Siṁha of Thañjāvūr. There are a number of other Moḍi records of the same king and his successors, which go to reveal the great esteem and regard in which the Āchāryas were held by Marāṭha Rulers of Thañjāvūr.

The question as to why the *Śrī-Kāñcī-Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha* shifted its headqarters from Kāñcīpuram to Kumbhakonam arises for consideration. That the *Pīṭha* was established by Ādi Śaṅkara at Kāñcīpuram, and that it has been continuing in an unbroken line of great Āchāryas is clear from the other evidence already shown here. As to why and when the *Pīṭha* shifted its headquarters to Kumbhakonam, we have clear evidence in another important public record. This is about a court case belonging to the times

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of the 64th Āchārya of the *Pīṭha*. In the year 1844 A.D. the authorities of the Śrī Śriṅgeri *Maṭha* filed a civil suit in the Trichi District Sadar Amin Court that the right for the *Tāṭaṅka-Pratishṭhā* of Goddess Akhilāṇḍeśvarī belonged only to that *Maṭha*. *Śrī Kāñcī-Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha* was made the first defendant in the above civil suit. The plaint of the plaintiff, the answer of the first defendant, the reply of the plaintiff for this and the defendant's rejoinder, the evidence presented by both sides, and the judgement, are all now available to us in print. Ultimately the court decided that the documents submitted on behalf of the Śriṅgeri *Maṭha* were not reliable, and that the oral evidence adduced on their behalf was self-contradictory, and the suit was dismissed with costs. This suit bears the number O.S.95/1844. This was taken in appeal No. 109/1846 and in special appeal petition No. 106/1848 to higher courts and in both the appeals the Śriṅgeri Maṭha's claims were disallowed with costs to this defendant. This one record is more than enough to give us a graphic insight into the affairs of *Śrī Kāñcī-Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha* about 120 years ago. This record contains an important point of reference. In the rejoinder of the *Śrī Kāñcī-Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha*, para 20, the reasons for the shift of the *Maṭha* from Kāñcīpuram to Kumbhakonam are clearly given. The following is a free translation of the relevant passage:

"The plaintiff in column 20 of his reply states that if it is true that the Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha was established at Kāñcīpuram by Śaṅkara and if Śaṅkara's disciple was installed there, the first defendant should still be residing there only and the reason for his residence at Kumbhakonam has not been stated in the defendant's answer. It is not stated in any authoritative text that the Kāmakoṭi Pīṭhādhipati must necessarily live only at Kāñcīpuram and should not take up his residence in any other place. The first defendant's disciples and other staff of the Maṭha are still living in the Kāñcīpuram Maṭha and are still carrying on the daily Pūjā to the Sarvajña Pīṭha there.

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The first defendant's Parama Guru (that is, Guru's Guru) wanted to reside on the banks of the river Cauvery and hence came to reside in Kumbhakonam. He brought along with him the Yogaliṅga Chandramaulīśvara Svāmi consecrated by Sureśvarāchārya.

The local Rājāhs and other disciples afforded every facility and convenience to him and hence he used to alternate his residence between Kumbhakonam and Kāñcīpuram, etc., etc."

The above clearly gives the reason as to why Śrī *Kāñcī-Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* was shifted to Kumbhakonam. This record belongs to the time of the 64th Āchārya, Śrī Chandraśekharendra Sarasvati V. He was the head of the *Pīṭha* from 1814 to 1851 A.D. His *Parama Guru* was the 62nd Achārya, Śrī Chandraśekharendra Sarasvatī IV who adorned the *pīṭha* from 1746 to 1783 A.D. It was this Āchārya, who shifted his headquarters from Kāñcīpuram to Kumbhakonam in order to carry out his meditation and worship on the peaceful banks of the river Cauvery. He attained *Siddhi* in 1783 A.D. in Kumbhakonam itself. The traditional accounts of the shift of the *Maṭha* from Kāñcīpuram to Kumbhakonam assign it to the period of King Pratāpa Siṃha, one of the Tañjāvūr Marāṭha Rulers who was a great devotee of the Āchārya. This has been clearly corroborated by the Moḍi document of 1750 A.D. This traditional account of the shift of the *Maṭha* is fully borne out by the statement made in the court documents mentioned above. It is thus clear that in the latter half of the 18th century, the *Maṭha* was shifted from Kāñcīpuram to Kumbhakonam.[1]

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1. Cf. 'The celebrated Dabir Pandit — an expert in Revenue matters was another of the great men in his court. He continued to serve the son of Pratap except for a short period and did much good to the state. He and Pratap welcomed to Kumbakonam the Śaṅkarācārya of Kāma-

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There is another record of 1783 A.D. which was given by the Rājā of Śivagaṅgā on September 10, in which the village Pulavacheri was granted to the *Maṭha*. This grant purports to give the village Pulavacheri in *Śālivāhana Śakābda* 1705, *Kalyabda* 4884, cyclic year *Śobhana*, *Āvaṇi Māsa*, 28th *tithi*, *Śuklapaksha*, *Bhauma Vāsara* and *Paurṇimāvāsya* day, to Śrī *Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha*, *Siṅghāsanābhishikta Śrīmad Śrī Mahā Bhagavatpādāchārya Svāmi Maṭha* situated in Śrī Kāñcīpuram Divyakshetra, for Svāmi Pūjā, Dipārādhana, brahmin feeding, etc., etc. We know from other evidence that the 63rd Āchārya came to the *Pīṭha* on 20th January 1783 A.D., and on 10th September of the same year, the Pulavacheri record clearly establishes that the *Pītha* was situated in Kāñcīpuram. We have already seen that the *pīṭha* had been shifted from Kāñcīpuram to Kumbhakonam only a few years ago and hence it can be safely deduced that the 63rd Āchārya, Mahādevendra Sarasvatī IV must have come to Kañcīpuram immediately after ascending the *pīṭha* probably on tour. This also fully bears out the statement mentioned in the Court document that the Āchāryas used to live alternatively in Kāñcīpuram and Kumbhakonam and that the worship at the *Maṭha* at Kāñcīpuram was being continued by the disciples, since only a few years after the shift of the *Maṭha*, the grant clearly mentions that the *Māṭha* was situated in Kāñcipuram.

Though the *Maṭha* was thus shifted to Kumbakonam in the latter half of the 18th century, still in all the records of the *Maṭha*, the Ācāryas were still being mentioned only as *Śrī Kāñcī-Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭhādhipatis*.

For example, a Firman of the Nawab of Arcot of 1782 A.D. mentions that Śrī Kāmakoṭi Śaṅkarāchārya

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koṭi Pītha from Udayarpalayam whither the latter had shifted from Kanchi on account of the increasing Muhammadan trouble in the City.' K. R. Subramanian, *The Maratha Rajaṣ of Tanjore*, Chap. vii. p.48.

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should be given all facilities while going to Tirupati, river Kṛṣṇā, etc.[1]

There is a stone epigraph in the grantha script of the 63rd ācārya - Śrī Mahādevendra Sarasvatī in the Ādi Kumbhesvara Svāmi temple at Kumbhakonam. Here also the ācārya is referred to as:

श्री आचार्यस्वामिभिः निर्मितकाञ्चीपीठाभिषि [क्त] श्री महादेवेन्द्र-यति उभयम्

Śrī ācāryasvāmibhiḥ nirmita Kāñcīpīṭhābhishi-(kta) Śrī Mahādevendrayati ubhayam[2]

Another stone epigraph in Grantha characters in regard to the same *ācārya* is found in that temple itself which is as follows:

शालीवाहन शकाब्दम् १७२२, दुन्मतिवर्ष कुम्भेश्वरस्वामि सोमास्कन्दमूर्तिक्कु अर्धमण्टपम् महामण्टपम् मुदुन्नु श्रीकाञ्चीकामकोटि-पीठाधिपति चन्द्रमौलीश्वर दासभूत श्रीमहादेवियति धर्मम्

"*salivahana sakabdam* 1722, *dunmati varsham, kumbhesvarasvami somaskanda murtikku ardhamaṇṭapam, mahāmaṇṭapam mudunnu Śrī Kāñcī Kamakoṭipiṭhādhipati Chandramoulisvara dasabhuta Śrī Mahadevayati dharmam*"[3]

It is significant to note that in a temple epigraph in Kumbhakonam itself, in the beginning of the 19th century, the Āchārya is referred to as *Śrī Kāchī-Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭhādipati* only.

During the close of the 18th century the Āvaṇi Śriṅgeri mutt had sent a *Śrīmukham* to the then Āchārya of the *Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha.* The Āvaṇi Śringeri Mutt is one of the sub-divisions of the Śāradāpīṭha each having religious jurisdiction over specified areas of the Karnāṭaka region; the others being Śriṅgeri on the Tuṅgā, Virūpāksha Śriṅgeri, Śivagaṅgā Śriṅgeri and Karavīr Śriṅgeri. The Āvaṇi Śriṅgeri has jurisdiction in the eastern portion of the Mysore territory bordering Tamil Nadu. During the

1. See Appendix.
2. See Appendix.
3. See Appendix.

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close of the 18th century the Mutt began to tour the Tiruchirapalli district on the banks of the Akhaṇḍa Kāveri and when it was brought to its notice that it has encroached upon the traditional rights of the *Kāmakoti-pīṭham* in that locality, the mutt forwarded a *Śrīmukham* to the *Kāmakoṭipiṭham* making amends and informing the routes they would take without violating the *status quo* in the locality. The route includes Pudukotta, Madurai, Ramesvaram, Ramnad, Sivaganga, Tirunelveli and Travancore. The Āchārya of the *Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha* is referred to in this letter as:

श्रीमच्छङ्करभगवत्पादाचार्याणां अधिष्ठाने सिंहासनाभिषिक्तानां श्रीकामकोटिपीठाधिपति श्रीमहादेवेन्द्र सरस्वती

śrīmat śaṅkarabhagavatpādāchāryāṇām adhishṭhāne siṁhāsanābhishiktānām Śrī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭhādhipati Śrī Mahādevendra Sarasvatī.[1]

Two letters were sent by the sovereign of Travancore towards the close of the 18th Century or the early years of the 19th Century to the pontiff of *Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha.* These letters have been written by His Highness Bāla Rāma Kulaśekhara Varma, the then Mahārāja of Travancore and have been addressed to His Holiness Śrī Mahādevendra Sarasvatī who was the disciple of His Holiness Śrī Chandraśekharendra Sarasvatī of the *Kāñcī-Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha.* The first epistle contemplates the sending of an young elephant to His Holiness as an offering to Chandramaulīśvara; while the second one tells that the same has actually been despatched. Both these epistles fervently pray for the contemplated visit of His Holiness to Trivandrum. These letters have been written in excellent Sanskrit in the Devanāgari script and they are noteworthy for the sweetness of their language, choice of expression, depth of learning and devotion.

Both the epistles are undated. By a careful study of the genealogy of the Travancore ruling dynasty, one could come to the conclusion that these letters should have been written during the time of Bāla Rāma Varma, the first

1. See Appendix.

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(Aviṭṭam Tirunāl) who flourished between the years 1798-1810. There were three sovereigns of the Travancore ruling dynasty bearing the name of Bāla Rāma Varma. Bāla Rāma Varma I (Aviṭṭam Tirunāl) flourished between 1798-1810. During his period, the pontiff at the *Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha* was His Holiness Śrī Mahādevendra Sarasvatī (1783-1814). Bāla Rāma Varma II (Svāti Tirunāl) flourished between 1829-1847 A.D. And during this period the pontiff at the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* was His Holiness Śrī Chandraśekharendra Sarasvatī (1814-1854 A.D.). Bāla Rāma Varma III (Mūlam Tirunāl) flourished between 1885-1924; and during this period the pontiffs at the *Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha* were His Holiness Śrī Mahādevendra Sarasvatī (1857-1891), His Holiness Chandraśekharendra Sarasvatī (1891-1907), His Holiness Śrī Mahādevendra Sarasvatī (1907) and His Holiness Śrī Chandraśekharendra Sarasvatī, the present Head of the *Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha.*

The two epistles were sent to His Holiness Śrī Mahādevendra Sarasvatī, by the King Bāla Rāma Varma. These could not have been sent by Bāla Rāma Varma II (1829-1847) because the pontiff at the *Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha* then was His Holiness Śrī Chandraśekharendra Sarasvatī. Both the letters bear the signature of the court which tried the suit of 1847. Hence they could not have been sent by Bāla Rāma Varma III (1885-1924). Therefore they must have been sent by Bāla Rāma Varma I to the pontiff of the *Kāmakoti-Pīṭha* His Holiness Śrī Mahādevendra Sarasvatī towards the close of the 18th Century or the early years of the 19th Century.

In these two epistles the Āchārya is referred to as follows:

श्रीमत्काञ्चीदिव्यायतननलिनकरमहामण्डन — शारदामठसरसिजराजहंसानां..... श्रीमच्छङ्करभगवत्पादाचार्याणां अधिष्ठाने सिंहासनाभिषिक्त... महादेवेन्द्रसरस्वती पादारविन्दयोः

"*Śrīmat Kāñchīdivyāyatana nalinakara mahāmaṇḍana-Śāradāmaṭha-sarasijarājahaṁsānām ... ... Śrīmat Śaṅkarabhagavat-pādāchāryāṇām*

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adhishṭhāne siṁhāsanābhishikta.....Mahādevendrasarasvatī Pādāravindayoḥ".[1]

In 1808 A.D. Chatrapati Mahārājā Serfoji had sent a letter of invitation to the 63rd Āchārya in which the Guru is referred to as follows:

श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यवर्यं - श्रीमच्छङ्करभगवत्पादाचार्याणां अधिष्ठानसिंहासनेऽभिषिक्तानां श्रीमच्छन्द्रशेखरेन्द्रसरस्वतीसंयमीन्द्राणाम् अन्तेवासिवर्यं श्रीमहादेवेन्द्रसरस्वती श्रीपादानाम्

"*Śrīmat paramahaṁsa parivrājakāchāryavarya Śrīmat Śaṅkarabhagavatpādāchāryāṇām adhishṭhānasimhāsane abhishiktānām Śrīmat Chandraśekharendra Sarasvatī Samyamīndrāṇām antevāsivarya Śrī Mahādevendra Sarasvatī Srīpādānām*", etc., etc.[2]

In 1839 A.D. the 64th Āchārya, Śrī Chandraśekharendra Sarasvatī performed the Kumbhābhishekam of Śrī Kāñcī Kāmākṣī temple. There is a stone epigraph in the temple which mentions this in Telugu characters as follows:

स्वस्तिश्री विजयाभ्युदय शालिवाहनशकाब्द 1761 विकारिनाम संवत्सर श्रीकाञ्चीकामकोटिपीठाधिपतुलैन श्रीचन्द्रशेखरस्वामुलवारू कुम्भकोणमुनुञ्चि काञ्चिकि वच्चि.

"*Svasti Śrī Vijayābhyudaya Sālivāhana Śakābda* 1761 (1839 A.D), *Vikārī Nāma Saṁvatsara..... Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭhādhipatulaina, Śrī Chandraśekhara Svāmulavāru, Kumbhakoṇamununchi Kāñchiki vachchi*, etc., etc".

There is another interesting letter of 1858 A.D written by the Garrison Officer of Kumbhakonam to the Agent of the *Maṭha* in which the officer Commanding had informed the Manager that some sepoys who had misbehaved did so due to ignorance and that he had issued suitable instructions to them. The addressee of this letter is given as follows:

"Soobhier the Agent of Sree Sankarachariar the priest of Sree Conjee Commacote Peetam of cusbha of Combaconum"

1. See Appendix.
2. See Appendix.

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There are a number of records which clearly prove that the Āchāryas were described as '*Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭhādhipatis*' only even after the Maṭha was shifted to Kumbhakonam.

A reference to the Inam lands and Inam titles of the *Maṭha* also shows that from ancient times onwards several lands in several villages round about Kāñcīpuram like Mādhavaram, Ambi, Śivakāñcī, Sevilimeḍu, Kuṇḍiyāntaṇḍalam have been in the occupation and enjoyment of the *Maṭha.*[1] In several of them, the original title of the

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1. (a) This maṭha has all along been maintained mainly by offerings of Rājas, Zamindars and others, produce from tax-free lands endowed by rulers and contribution of a certain portion of the produce by the owners of cultivable lands in the country. This payment which went under the name of *merai* in some taluk round about Kāñcī was recognised by the High Court which says:

"We think the evidence justifies the inference that this payment of the disputed *merai* had a lawful origin and was not merely voluntary".

vide : Judgement of Sir John Wallis, Chief Justice and Mr Ayling in Second appeals Nos. 1282 and 1283 of 1917 on the file of the High Court of Madras — Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Piṭhādhipati Swami Avergal Sikkudayar Swami Avergal, Sri Sankaracharyaswami versus Manali Saravana Mudaliar and another (Srotriemdar of three srotriem villages in Chengleput District).

The Lord of Kāñcī is generally called Thiru Ekāmbara Uḍayār and the Lord at Tanjore Periya Uḍayār (Great Lord). The ācārya is called Śikku Uḍayār or Chikka Uḍayār-the Canarese equivalent of Śiriya Uḍayār.

A fraction of 1/96th of the land tax payable to Government has been customarily paid by land-

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grantee is written as '*Śrī Kāñchī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭham*" or "*Kumbhakonam Śrī Kāñchī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭham*", etc. This also clearly shows that the traditional title of *Śrī Kāñchī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha* was continued undisturbed even though due to various reasons the *Maṭha* was transferred from Kāñchīpuram to Kumbhakonam.

The Śāṅkarite Institution at Kāñcī has branches belonging to times long past at Kumbhakonam and Jambukeśvaram which is near Śrīraṅgam. These two sacred places are situated on the banks of the river Kāverī. Kāñcī and Kāverī are always linked together as the former is the southernmost of the seven *mokṣapuri*-s of India and the latter is the southernmost of the seven sacred

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holders in villages of some taluks around Kāñcīpuram as *merai* to Śrī Ekāmranātha and the Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha under orders from the Government of the times.

(b) In the districts of Tanjavur, South Arcot, etc., there has been a custom to pay two Madras measures of grains (paddy) per *veli* consisting of 6¼ acres of land to the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha*. In later years, that is, during the 19th century, the people of many villages, in order to ensure proper and regular payment of this contribution, thought it fit to transfer the ownership of a piece of common land in a village to the tune of such area as would yield a produce equal to the stipulated payment per *veli*. There are amongst such registered transfer deeds, some wherein even Christian land-holders and heads of *maṭha* have signed. In the Tiruchirapalli District, land-holders are accustomed to pay two Madras measures of grain (paddy) to the Kāñcī Śaṅkarācārya Mutt per unit of land called *Cey*.

(c) The Kāñcī Śaṅkara-maṭha has been receiving *mohini* allowances from a long time back. Below is an order of the Collector of Tanjore regarding the allowances:

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rivers of our land.[1] The relation between the two has been emphasized in the *Śrīmadbhāgavata* while describing the Tīrthayātrā of Balarāma.

कामकोटिपुरीं काञ्चीं कावेरीं च सरिद्वराम् ।
श्रीरङ्गाख्यं महापुण्यं यत्र सन्निहितो हरिः ॥

Kāmakoṭipurīṁ kāñcīṁ kāverīṁ ca saridvarām
śriraṅgākhyaṁ mahāpuṇyaṁ yatra sannihito hariḥ
(10-79-4)

The *Bhāgavata* text with the commentary *Subodhinī* of Vallabha reads thus:

"The Collector of Tanjore District recommends that the allowance of Rs 6743-5-0 due to Śrī Śaṅkarācārya's *Maṭha* at Kumbakonam which is now paid in the shape of an *assignment of land revenue* be disbursed hereafter direct from the Sub-Treasury at that station. In any case, the Government considers that the method of payment by beriz deduction is much to be preferred and accordingly directs that the land revenue assignment be resumed and that the allowance of Rupees 6743-5-0 be paid in future by beriz deduction. (Extract from G.O. No.178 (Revenue Miscellaneous) dated lst March 1894.

1. अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची अवन्तिका।
पुरी द्वारवती चैव सप्तैताः मोक्षदायिकाः ॥

(i) *'ayodhyā mathurā māyā kāśī kāñcī avantikā,*
purī dvāravatī caiva saptaitāḥ mokṣadāyikāḥ'

गङ्गे च यमुने चैव गोदावरि सरस्वति, नर्मदे सिन्धु कावेरि

(ii) *'gaṅge ca yamune caiva godāvari sarasvati narmade sindhu kāveri.....'.*

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कामकोष्णीं पुरीं काञ्चीं कावेरीं च सरिद्वराम्

Kāmakoṣṇīṁ purīṁ kāñcīṁ kāverīṁ ca saridvarām

कामकोष्णीं — कामाक्षीम्। शिवकाञ्चीति प्रसिद्धा ततः काञ्ची पुण्यकोटिः ततः कावेरी।

kāmākoṣṇīṁ - kāmākṣīm. Śivakāñcīti prasiddhā tataḥ kāñcī puṇyakotiḥ tataḥ kāverī[1]

It is evident from the above passage of the *Bhāgavata* that a religious significance is attached to Kāñcī, Kāverī and Śrīraṅgam. And it is but natural that the Institution of Śrī Śaṅkara at Kāñcī must have its branches at Kumbakonam which is on the banks of Kāverī and at Jambukesvaram which is not only on the banks of Kāverī but is near to Śrīraṅgam.[2]

The Āstikas of Madras who had an organization or Sabhā for determining dhārmic questions and correct lapses, if any, in the community were in the habit of assembling periodically in the premises of the Madras branch of the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* at 119, Thambu Chetty Street, G.T. Madras, which was dedicated to Śaṅkarācārya Svāmi for the grace of Candramaulīśvara by one Vajrāla Thyāgarāyaḍu in the year 1742. The Āstikas were represented by eighteen Jālādhipatis who were the accredited

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1. Edited by Kandur Rangachari, Śrī Devakīnandan Press, Bṛndāvan, 1963.

2. *Vide*: (i) 'There is an important *smārtha* religious institution here in the maṭha of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya which is said to have been founded in the time of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya himself by a Tanjore King who wished the saint to reside in his domain." Arthur Hemingway, I. C. S.: *Tanjore District Gazeteer*, p.208. (ii) The *maṭha* at Jambukeśvaram is referred to in the copper-plate grant of the King Vijayaraṅga Cokkanātha.

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heads of the different communities. The meetings were presided by an elected *sabhāpatī*. The Śriṅgeri Āchārya in the year *Śukla* in the last century (1870) toured through Tamil Nāḍu. Suspecting some propaganda by the Śṛṅgeri-*maṭha* against the Kāñcī-*maṭha*, the devotees of the latter complained to the *sabhāpati*. The latter referred the matter to the Śṛṅgeri-ācārya who, in turn, issued a *Śrīmukham* to the then *Sabhāpati* of the Madras Mahājanas Śrīmān Pandipeddi Krishnaswāmi Ayya in which the Āchārya makes it clear that he had no intention to act against the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha*.[1]

In the *Śubhalekha* (invitation) sent to this Mutt on the occasion of the coronation of the late Mahārājā of Mysore Śrī Jaya Chāmarājendra Wodayar, this Mutt is referred to as "*Śrī Jagadguru Kāñcī Śrīmat Śaṅkarabhagavatpādācāryāṇām adhishṭhāne siṁhāsanābhishiktānām*".

The authorities of the Śṛṅgeri Mutt in a letter dated 14-10-1942 to Śrī Viśuddhānanda Bhārati who was residing in Kāñcī in the building belonging to Śṛṅgeri *Maṭha* have informed that Kāñcī is the seat of the great *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* and the building of the Śringeri *Maṭha* there was not to be given the status of a *Maṭha*.

It would be clear from the above discussion that the *Ācārya* of the *Kāñcī-Kāmakoṭi-Pīṭha* has been referred to as *Kāñcī-Kāmakoṭi-pīṭhādhipaṭi* even after the *maṭha* was shifted from Kāñcī to Kumbakonam in the latter half of the 18th century. The literary evidences, traditional accounts, sculptural representations, copper-plate grants, stone epigraphs and contemporary records set forth in detail so far would tend to show that Śrī Ādi Śaṅkara has been

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1. See Appendix.

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intimately connected with the sacred city of Kāñcī and that the principal *pīṭha* he has established therein has been functioning in an unbroken line of *ācārya*-s, recognized by successive governments of our country, venerated by the rulers of the princely states and respected by other Institutions.

SOME CRITICISMS EXAMINED

It would be clear from the foregoing account that the Ācārya of the *Kāñcī pīṭha* has been referred to as *Kāñcī-Kāmakoṭi-pīṭhādhipati* even after the *maṭha* was shifted from Kāñcī to Kumbhakonam in the latter half of the 18th century.

The author of the book *Devī Kāmākṣī in Kāñcī*, in *A Manual of Pudukoṭṭai State* edited by him has said:

"The Hindu sects do not attempt to proselytise, nor is there any great organisation in the state to conserve the religious faith of the people. The followers of the Advaita school offer homage to the *gurus* of Kumbakonam (the *Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi-piṭha*) and of Sṛṅgeri founded by the great Śrī Śaṅkara. The *guru* of the Kumbakonam *Pīṭha* has a large following within the state, and since he is the *guru* of the ruling family, honours are accorded to him during his visits to the state." (Chapter III, p. 84).

In his article on *A Copper-plate of the Kāmakoṭipīṭhā* in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXIX for August 1951, the same author observes as follows:

"The record is important as showing the very close connection that existed between the gurus of the *Kāmakoṭi Pīṭham* and the Pudukoṭṭai Ruling House in the 18th

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century. About 1738, Vijaya Raghunātha Rāya had received spiritual instruction from Śrī Śadāśiva, the most illustrious disciple of the *maṭha* and this had brought him into the direct line of disciples of the Śaṅkarācāryas of this *maṭha*. The devotion that the ruler had for the venerable *Svāmi* of the *maṭha* was emulated by his followers and retainers who made this grant in 1742 to an agent of the *maṭha*."

In the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XXII, the above author refers to two firmans issued by the Nawab of Arcot and the East India Company one of which has the names of *Kāmakoṭi* and Śaṅkārācārya. The firmans are as follows:

The first which bears the seal of Saadat Khan is a grant confirming a previous one by Dawud Khan to 'Śaṅkarācārya Gossain' of the village of Ponnambalam (Ponnai) in the 'Karnatak taluk of Hyderabad' measuring 150 chakras of dry land free of taxes. This document is dated 6 *zilhijja* in the 6th year (of the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shah), 5 August 1725 A.D.

The second which bears the seal of Safdar Ali, 'Servant' of Muhammad Shah Padshah Ghazi again confirms the same grant with effect from fasli 1151 (1741-42). This is dated 1 Rajjab in the 24th year of Muhammad Shah's reign, 22 August, 1742 A.D.

Dawud Khan, a *mansabdar* of the imperial court, held the post of *naib* of the *nizamat* of the Carnatic Payanghat between 1700 and 1708 A.D. Saadat Khan, his successor, was confirmed in the *nizamat* in 1723 by Asafjah Nizam-ul-mulk. According to the massirul-umara, he held the *nawabship* until 1732. (Burhan: Tuzaki Walajahi, Nainar's translation, Madras University Part I, p. 64 n. ff). Nawab Safdar Ali did not enjoy the *nizamat* for long, and was

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murdered on *Shaban*, 1155 A H. (October 1742). Dawud Khan's gift of a tax-free village to enable the Svami "to maintain himself and to pray to God in peace" was confirmed by two successors of the *nizamat* of the Subah of Arcot.

The third and the fourth record an order to all jagirdars, amaldars, mustajirs, chowkidars, poligars, foujdars, rahdars, etc., to afford safe passage to the "great *guru* Śaṅkarācārya Svāmi Mahant" of *Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha* and his retinue, and desist from collecting tolls or customs during his travels between the banks of the Krishna and Tinnevelly while making pilgrimages to Tirupati, Ramesvaram, etc. One of them bears the seal of the commissioner of Customs, East India Company, and is dated 18 April 1792 (25 *Shaban* 1205 A.H), while the seal in the other (This record has Telugu and Marathi (Modi) translations) reads Padshah Ghazi Shah Alam, Muzaffarul Mulk, Amirud Dawlah, Azadud Dawlah, Salarul Mulk, etc., and is dated 23 Nov, 1792 A.D (8 *Rabi-us-sani* 1207 A.H.). These two documents reflect the political condition of the Carnatic in 1792 A.D. To ensure success in their war with Tippu, the Company had concluded in that year a treaty with the Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajah, and had assumed entire control of the Carnatic. Though the Nawab was virtually under the protection of the Company (cf: Madras Military Consultations-22nd August 1781-Nawab Walajah is to request the Governor General), the fiction of the legal sovereignty of Delhi continued. (The name of the Moghal Emperor continued to be recited in the Friday prayers at Arcot and Madras almost until the dissolution of the Carnatic Kingdom). This explains why the svāmi got firmans from both the Company and the representative of the titular emperor.

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One feature stands out prominently in these records — the spirit of religious toleration and respect for a highly venerated spiritual head of a large sect of Hindus which animated the ruler of the Carnatic from the time of the early *naibnazims*, whether Afghan or Persian by descent, down to the time of the annexation of the kingdom by the company. (See the writer's paper - *The Religious Policy of the Walajahi Nawabs of the Carnatic*, read at the All India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad session — to be published shortly in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore). These rulers, who professed to be the vassals of the *Padshah Ghazi*, the imperial defender of Islam, afforded ample protection to Hindus and fostered their religious Institutions.'

It will thus be seen from the above that the *ācārya*s of the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha* have been referred to as *Kāmakoṭi pīṭhādhipatis* even in the latter half of the 18th century.

CONCLUSION

At Kāñcī, Goddess Kāmākṣī presides over the *Kāmakoṭipīṭha* in Kāmakoṣṭham whose praise has been sung by the three great Nāyanmārs.

Śrī Śaṅkara assumed the headship of the *Sarvajña-pīṭha* — the central one at Kāñcī, consecrated the *Yoga-liṅga* and spent his last days there. May Goddess Kāmākṣī, the *śakti* of the *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha*, protect us all — Her children.

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APPENDIX

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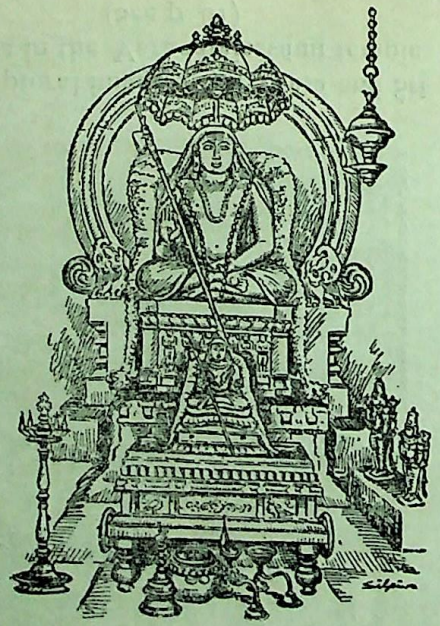

A stone image of Śrī Śaṅkara at the temple of Goddess Kāmākṣī
(See p. 60)

A Sculptured panel in the Varadarāja svāmi temple depicting Śrī Vyāsa in a defiant mood and Śrī Śaṅkara with radiating calmness
(See p. 61)

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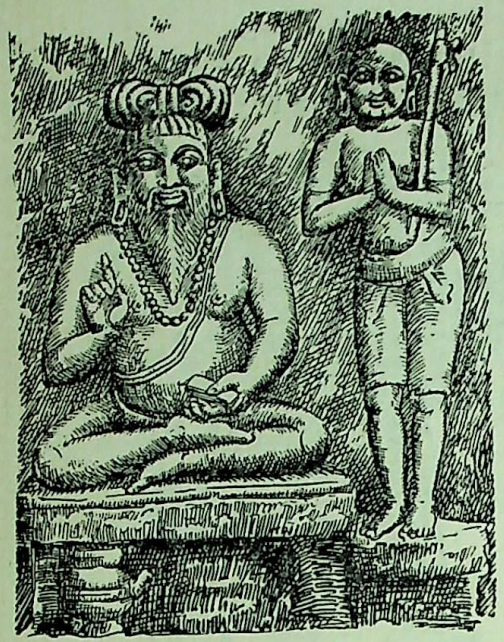

A Sculptural image of Śrī Vyāsa and Śrī Śaṅkara in the Varadarājasvāmi temple (See p. 61)

A sculpture of Śrī Śaṅkara in the Vasanta-maṇṭapa of Śrī Varadarāja temple, Kāñcī (See p. 61)

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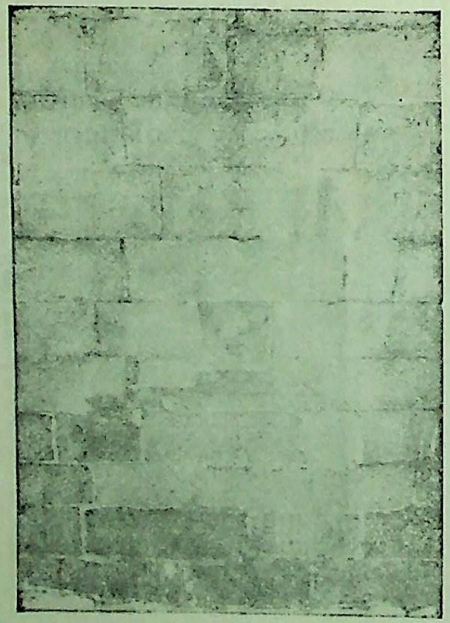

A sculptural image of Śrī Śaṅkara on the outside of the eastern wall of the second *prākāra* of Śrī Varadarājasvāmi temple (See p. 61)

A sculptural image of Śrī Śaṅkara in the Vaikuṇṭha perumal temple, Kāñcī (See p. 61)

A sculpture featuring Śrī Śaṅkara in the Viṣṇu temple at Śevīlimeḍu at the outskirts of Kāñcī (See p. 61)

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A sculpture of Śrī Śaṅkara in the Puṇyakoṭīśvara temple (See p. 61)

A sculptural image of Śrī Śaṅkara in the Ekāmreśvara temple (See p. 61)

Stucco figures representing Śrī Vyāsa in the Vyāsaśrāntāśraya temple. (See pp. 63-64)

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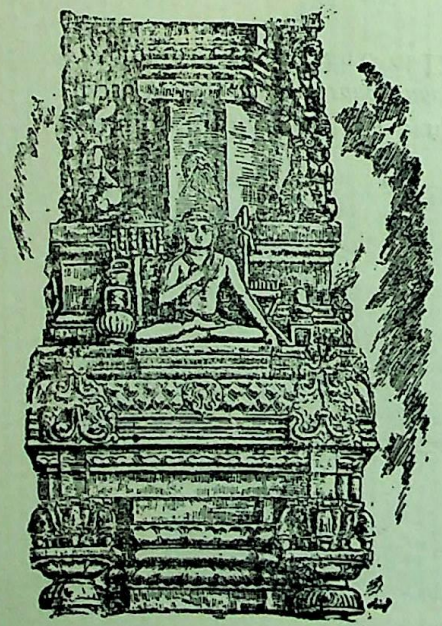
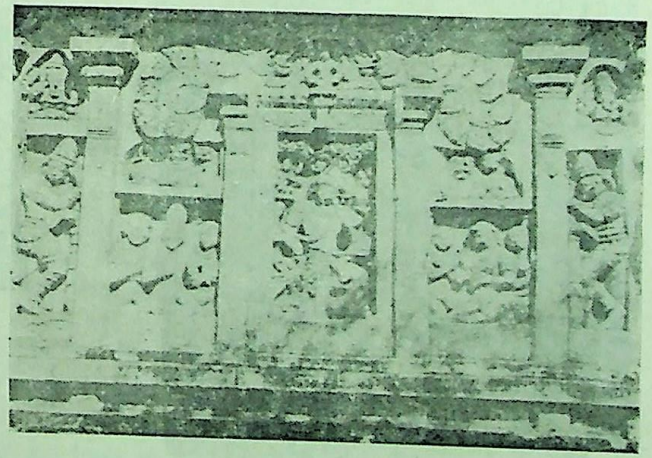


A sculpture of Śrī Śaṅkara in the Ekāmreśvara temple
(See p. 64)



A photograph of Adi Śaṅkara from the Iravāttanesvara temple at Kāñcī.
(See pp. 64-65)

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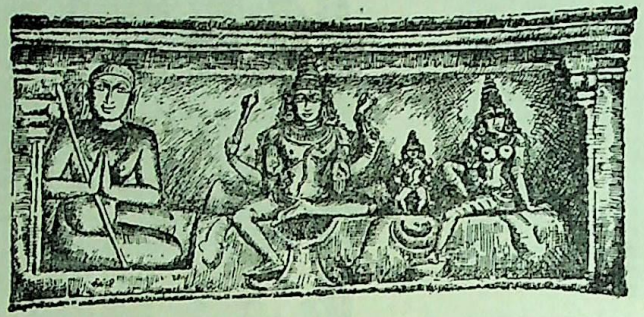
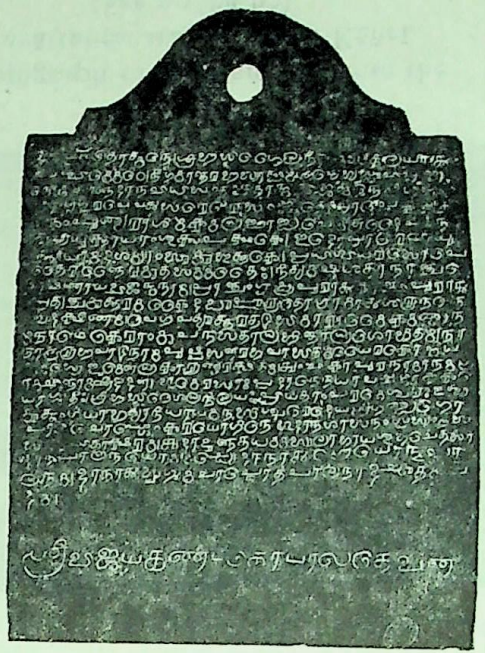


A sculptural image of Śrī Śaṅkara in *Daṇḍavandana* pose in the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Sivāsthānam temple at the outskirts of Kāñcī (See p. 65)



Copper-plate grant of Vijaya Gaṇḍa Gopāla (See pp. 66-67)

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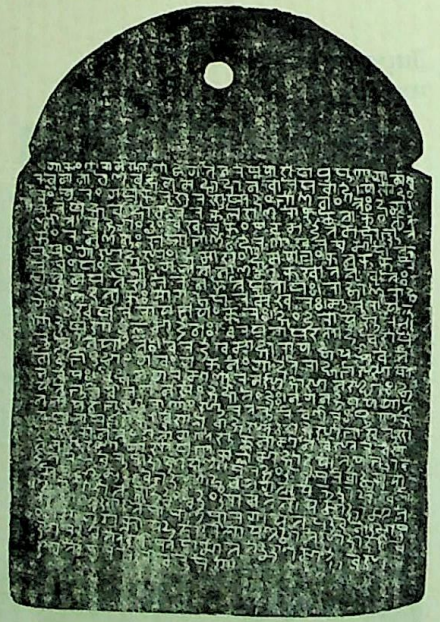

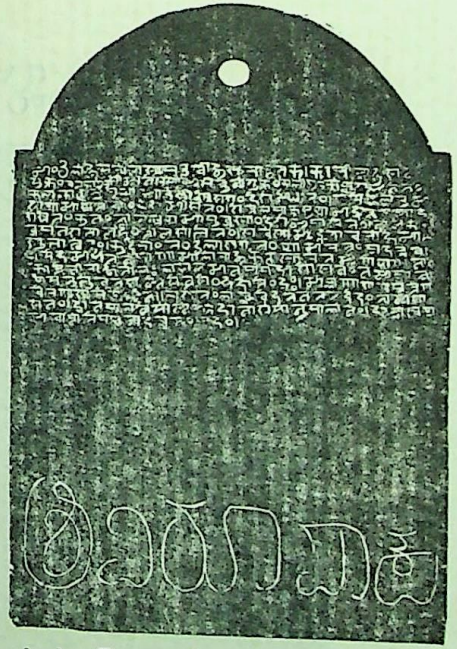

Copper-plate grant (I-II) of Sri Vira Narasimha Deva of Vijayanagar dated 1429 Saka Era recording the grant of the village of Kuṇḍiyantandalam in North Arcot Dt. on the Magha Punyakala Day to Sri Mahadeva Sarasvati (See p. 68)

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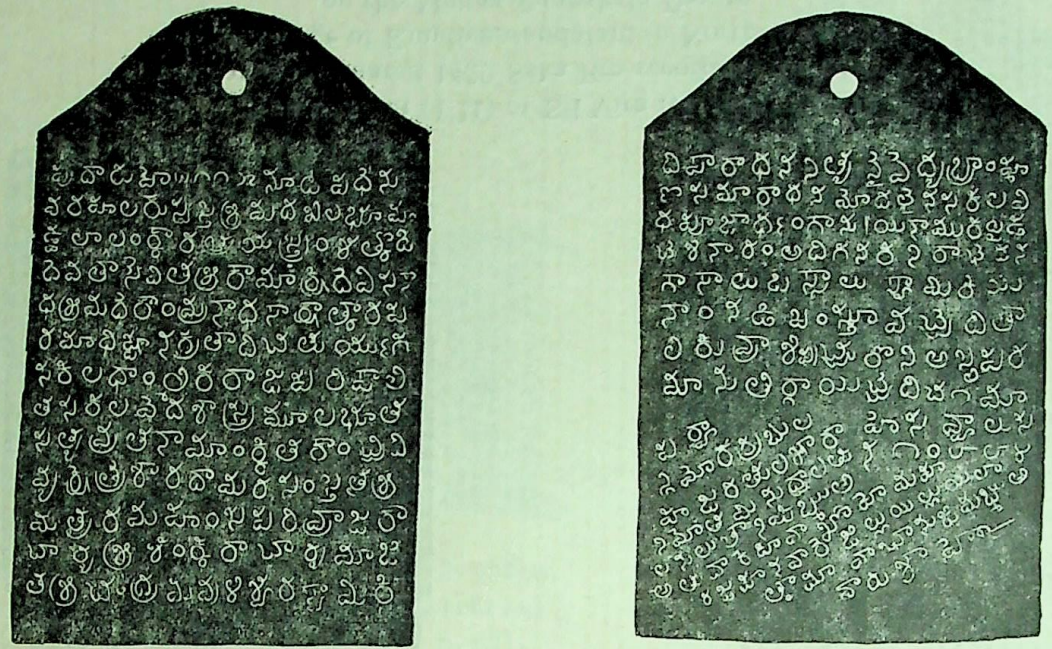

A Firman (I-II) issued by the Qutub Shahi
Muslim King Tana Shah in 1677 A.D. (See p. 68)

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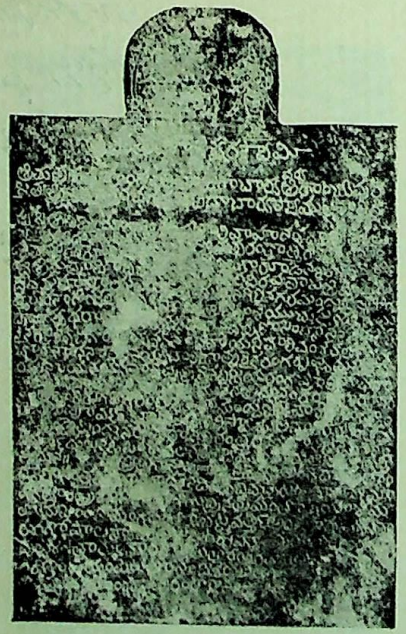

A Copper-plate grant (I-II) executed by Vijayaranga Chokkanatha, the Nayak King of Madura, 1708 A.D. See p. 69

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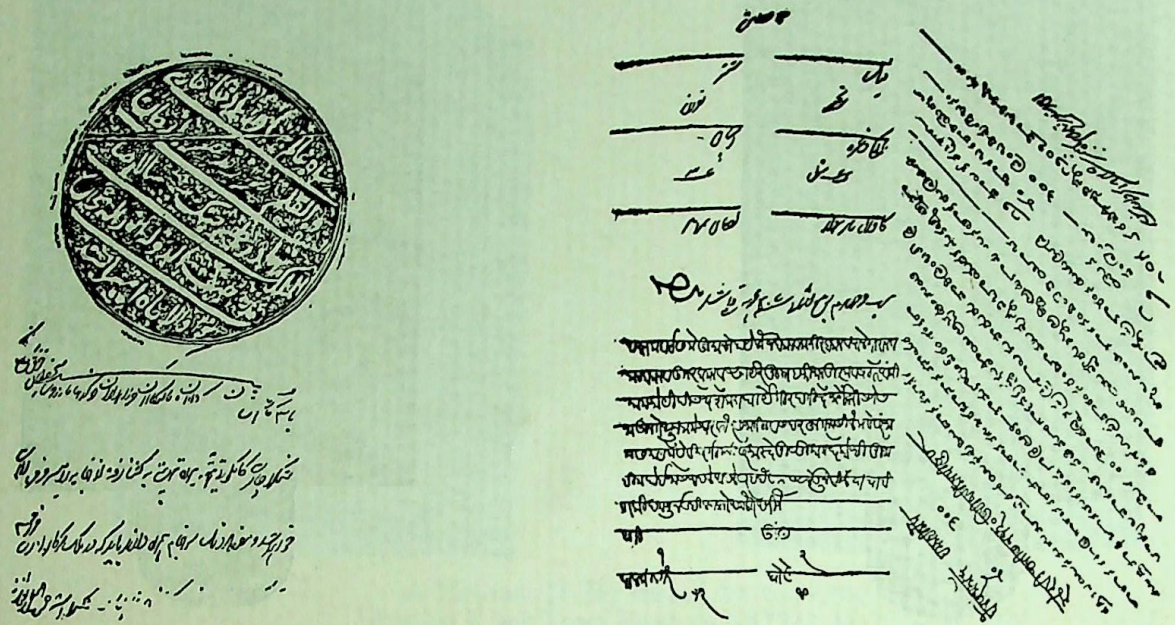

A Firman (I-II) of the Nawab of
Arcot of 1792 A.D. (p. 75)

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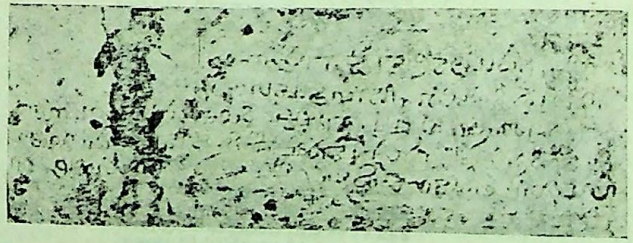

Stone epigraphs (I-II) in the Ādi Kumbheśvara Svāmi temple in Kumbhakonam. (See p. 76)

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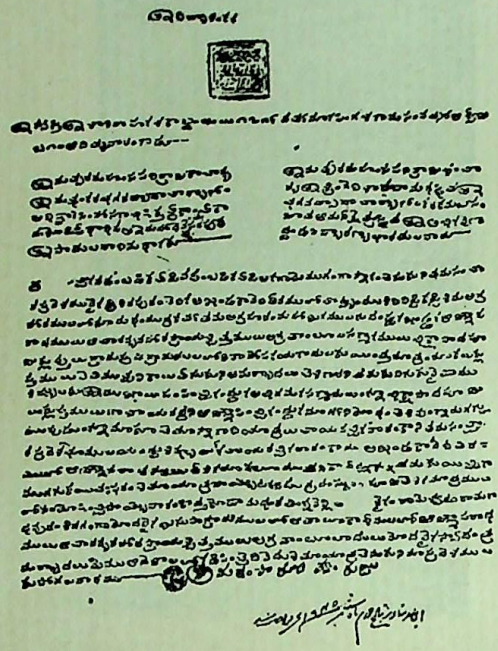
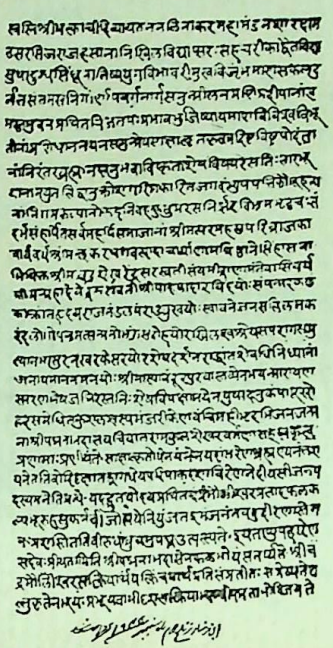


Srimukham from the Avani Sringeri Mutt (1797 A.D.)



The second epistle from the Maharaja of Travancore

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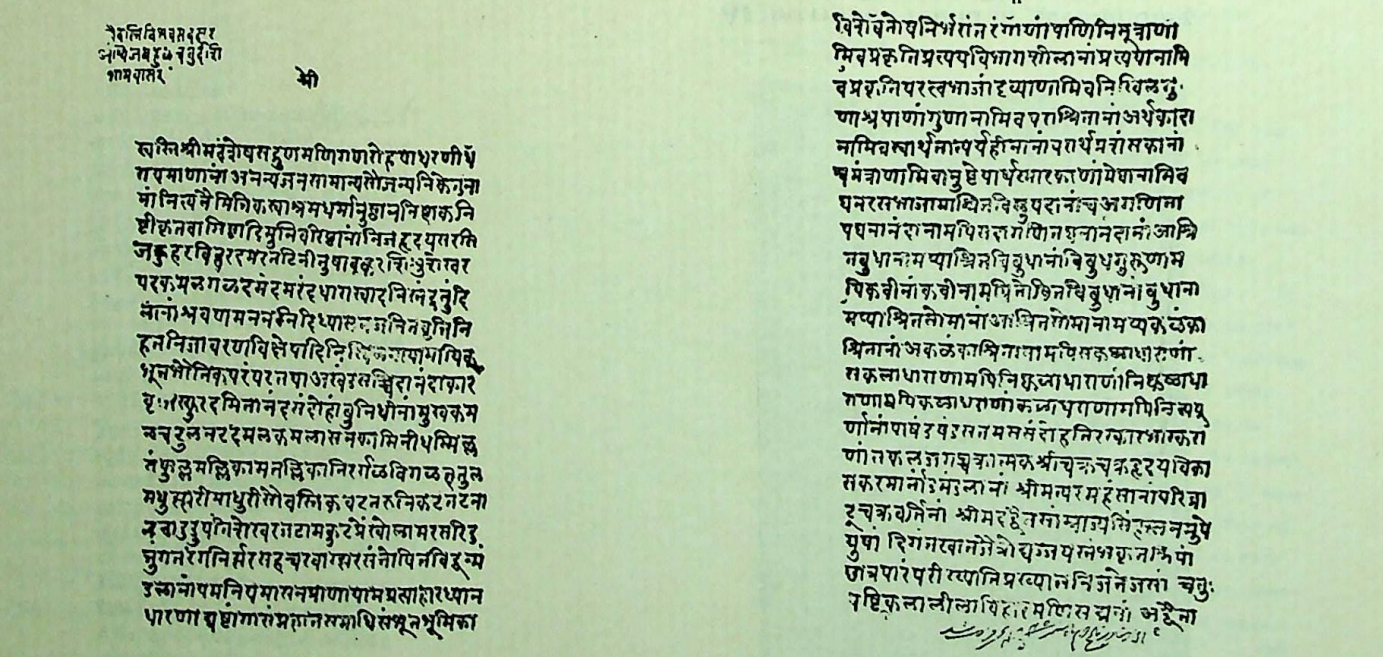

A respectful Communication (I-III) from Maharaja Serfoji of Tanjore to the then Acharya requesting a visit to Tanjore (1808 A.D.)

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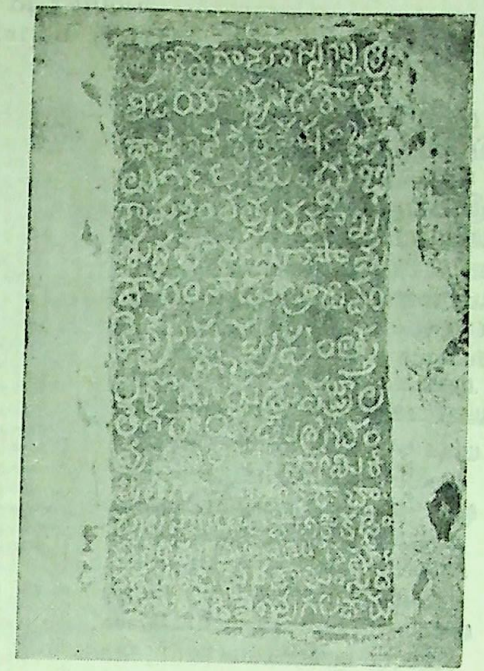

As inscription found in the building at 119, Thambu Chetty Street, G. T. Madras, dedicating the same to Sri Kanchi Kamakoti Acharya

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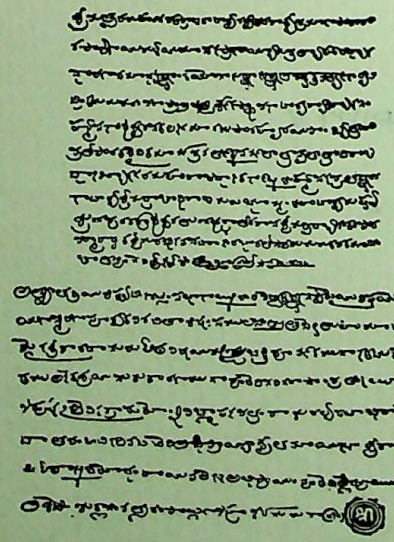

Srimukham from the Sringeri Acharya (1870 A.D.) to Sri Pandipeddi Krishnaswami Ayya

D.O. No. .....

K. V. SRINIVASACHAR,
OFFICER-IN-CHARGE.

OFFICE OF THE SRI SRINGERI MUTT & ITS PROPERTIES.

Sringeri, Dated 14th Octr *19* 42.

Most Reverred Swamiji

I am very much grateful to you for your kind letter. Mr.Engaraj Iyer came here and we gave him all comforts and conveniences for the darshan of Sri Saradambal etc., I must thank you for your proposal of arranging for founding a Library at Conjeevaram. The building there,cannot be considered assa Mutt. We only own a building there.which we have to keep in good repairs and the manager there takes care of the building It may not be quite advisible to keep photos or idols or padukas there and arrange for worship and give it the colour of the Mutt. As regards Library, the mainte-nance of it will involve some cost. Excepting to keep the building in order and we as it were a ca-retaker of it , it has not been the intention of the Mutt to give it any better status, especially because,it is the seat of Kamakoti Pita and it is not advisible to get oursel-

ves

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ŚRI KĀMAKOṬI PĪTHA

II

Into any controversy with that great Mutt, or to create any rival spirit in that locality.

With profound respects,

Yours obediently,

Officer-in-charge,
Sringeri Mutt & its properties.

To

Reverred Vishudhananda Theertha Swamiji,
Residing Orthodox Sri Sringeri Mutt Cmdy,
CONJEEVARAM.

A Letter dated 14—10—1942 from the authorities of the Śṛṅgeri Mutt to Śrī Viśuddhānanda Bhāratī

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This work, *Kāmakoṭṭam, Nāyanmārs and Ādi Śaṅkara*, consists of two parts and an appendix. In the first part, the greatness of Kanchi and Kamakottam, from very early times in Tamil Literature to the period of Tevaram, has been dealt with. The city of Kanchi is ancient and gives nurturance to followers of all faiths. It is noted for the boundless learning of its scholars and is the abode of all sacred deities. The temple of Kamakshi is the centre of importance here. Silappadikaram also speaks of Kanchi eulogisingly. Later Thirunavukkarasar, Sambandhar, Sundarar and Manickavasagar speak of several praiseworthy aspects of Kanchi and Sekkilar nods approvingly of Kanchi. The ethereal presence of Kamakshi in Kanchi becomes clear from several of the inscriptions of South India.

Part II of this book deals with the life of *Ādi Śankara Ādi Śankara* constructed the temple of Kamakshi of Kanchi on the pattern of *parividyasarana*. He also replaced the tantric mode of worship prevailing there by the vedic mode. Later, Sri Sankara, having travelled all over India, reached Kanchi of his own accord, spent his last days there worshipping Kamesvari on the banks of the River Kampa and attained Siddhi there. The appendix illustrates several facets and postures of Sri Sankara sculptures.

This book is a product of deep research and contemplation. Its author Dr. V. A. Devasenapathy, began his research work in Saivism with special reference to Tamil Sources in 1935 under the guidance of Professor S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri. After a brief stint as Lecturer in Pachaiyappa's College, Dr. V. A. Devasenapathy joined the Department of Philosophy, University of Madras and later became the Director of Dr. Radhakrishnan Institute for Advanced Study in Philosophy. His publications include: *Saiva Siddhanta with Special reference to the Sivagnana Siddhiyar* and *Human Bondage and Divine Grace.*